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ART. I.—1. *Letters to M. Gondon on the Destructive Character of the Church of Rome, both in Religion and Polity.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster. London, Rivington, 1847, 2nd Edition.

2.—*Sequel to Letters to M. Gondon on the Destructive Character of the Church of Rome, both in Religion and Polity.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster. London, Rivington, 1848.

WHETHER it was an argument addressed to prejudiced men, who could not admit justice into the number of their virtues, we cannot tell; but it is quite certain, that, as a matter of fact, Catholics were admitted to their civil rights less on the ground of justice, than on their insignificance in number and weight. It seems that our unconscious friends have been somewhat deceived, our number is different from their estimate, and our influence more felt than they anticipated or desire. We have, therefore, a large proportion of the press busy in forging and disseminating charges against us, which their authors ought to know are untrue. They propound our principles as if they understood them, and where they do not, which is almost always the case, put their own interpretation on them, and insist upon it that we should abide by their premises and their conclusions. If we deny the allegations, we gain nothing; for our all-knowing controversialists have a theory that we tell the truth only when we cannot help it, and our denial becomes in these cases simply a proof of the accusations.

There are some among those with whom we have to do, who deny the evidence of their own senses in questions of Catholic controversy. There is a fundamental theory in possession of them, that the Catholic Church is utterly and thoroughly in the wrong, and, consequently, whatever clashes with that opinion must be abandoned: it must be cast aside as an optical illusion or a lying wonder of the evil one. They know better than we do what we believe, and can tell our thoughts before we act on them, and decide what our practice will be under given circumstances, even when we ourselves may be reasonably in doubt. Virtue and goodness have no home with us, and vice is our natural companion; imposture, treachery, and crime are the external developments of our whole moral being. The Church, which has in all ages inculcated charity, and has been the salt of the world, is condemned as an evil system, as the fruitful mother of every abominable work.

In our July number, 1847, we gave a few pages to the then recent lucubrations of Dr. Christopher Wordsworth; and since that time it has pleased him to add another volume to the library of libellous literature. We call his writings deliberately by such a name: but do not, however, say anything of him personally, for his eyes are blinded, and he cannot even see what is plainly set before him. He has placed himself beyond the pale of controversial courtesy, and must be dealt with as an irresponsible being. He may be an amiable and honest man, and scrupulously just in all worldly matters, but in questions of Catholic controversy he is utterly perverted, and does not know his right hand from his left. He is an excellent scholar, and of cultivated tastes, and inferior to few in mere secular learning, but in theology he is less than a novice, and more prejudiced even than a Jew. Nothing good can come from Nazareth with him, and he will not go and see if his theory be true.

Our first examination of his work was hasty, time hindering us: we shall therefore, in some measure, repeat what we said before, and travel again over the same ground. Not to weary our readers with a continuous commentary on his books, we shall take them as before in separate portions, more in the form of notes than of a laboured reply, beginning, as then, with the passage out of Cardinal Bellarmine, which, he considers, teaches that the



Pope may change, if he please, the nature of virtue and vice. Dr. Wordsworth, in his "Sequel," labours to show that he did not say that the Pope could command people to practise vice, and that they would be bound to obey him, but something else;—what that something is we really cannot make out. Yet, notwithstanding his special pleading for several pages, he admits indirectly that he had misinterpreted Cardinal Bellarmine, and that our charge was true; that admission is proveable from the fact, that he produces several authorities for his misinterpretation. These authorities are Ames, Lynde, Crakanthorp, Sanderson, Potter, and the Rev. Joseph Mendham. It is not very likely that Dr. Wordsworth would produce these writers as guilty of a misrepresentation, if he had not been conscious of having travelled in their course. Why should he fortify himself with quotations from their writings, if his defence in the "Sequel" be just? Witnesses to character are not much regarded when the accusation stands on good testimony. We do not mean to content ourselves with circumstantial evidence, but will convict him out of his own mouth.

"Lastly, to pass from *Protestant* authors, I will now only observe, *It is quoted* by an eminent person of Bellarmine's own order and school, his celebrated contemporary, the Jesuit Gretser, who, in his Defence of Bellarmine, expounds this passage as follows: 'Almighty God would have been wanting to His Church in things necessary to salvation, if the Roman Pontiff could err in moral precepts on necessary points, for the Church would be bound to obey him as her Supreme Pastor, and yet by obeying him would fall into a pernicious error.'"—Seq. p. 39.

Here we have a clear proof that the passage from Bellarmine was misinterpreted in the "Letters," for the extract from Gretser is brought forward to show that others understood Bellarmine as Dr. Wordsworth did. In reality Gretser himself is misrepresented, and that misrepresentation is the evidence on which our author rests his case. It is like a man making good a bad cause, by producing forged documents and perjured witnesses. The Church is bound to obey the Pope, says Gretser; from this Dr. Wordsworth infers that the Church must obey him even in sin, because he thinks the Pope may err. Impossible, says the Catholic divine, for he is infallible; he is infallible, because the Church must obey

him, for if he were not, the Church might be led into sin. Dr. Wordsworth considers that the interpretation which we gave of Bellarmine's words is not consistent with the Cardinal's explanation of them in his *Recognitio*. If Dr. Wordsworth will read the whole passage, and not stop in the middle, he may perhaps find reason to change his mind.

We charged him with misunderstanding a passage out of the Constitutions of the Jesuits, and that he had, in order to give a colour to his error, falsified the text. His defence in the "Sequel" is: "I could not have written *ea* unless I wished to make Ignatius guilty of false Latin." This is no excuse, if Ignatius had been "guilty of false Latin," that is nothing to the purpose. It was the duty of Dr. Wordsworth to quote the text as he found it, not to change it. The "false Latin" is not in question, but the false interpretation of correct Latin. The truth is this, Dr. Wordsworth did not understand the passage he commented on, and therefore altered it to suit his purpose. Here again, as in the former case, he produces the authority of ignorant or unprincipled men who have given a similar sense to the passage; but at last, as if driven from mere shame, admits that the passage may have another meaning, and saves himself by saying that such interpretation is "*forced*." If he thinks it forced, why did he change *ea* into *id*? We reproduce the original passage out of the "Letters," (p. 65): "The Constitutions *are not* to bind to mortal sin, nisi Superior *id* in nomine, &c., *unless the Superior commands it in the name*." Such is Dr. Wordsworth's version. Whereas the true one is, "The Constitutions do not bind under pain of mortal or venial sin, unless the Superior commands obedience to them in the name," &c. Even Andrew Steinmetz, who has done what he could to blacken the Jesuits, is ashamed of such chicanery. He says:

"Part vi. c. 5, Where it is decided that the guilt of sin attached to disobedience when the Superior commands in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, or in virtue of obedience."—Novitiate, p. 98, 2nd Edition, 1847.

Dr. Wordsworth is not to be beaten off so easily; if grammar and common sense are against him in one place, he will have recourse to another, and defy them both.

"But again: it must also be remembered that before the Constitutions were written, the Papal Bulls, which established and confirmed the Order of Jesuits, had invested the Superior with the power of *absolving* all the members of the Order from all sin.....So that in fact it came to this, that the Superior might enjoin a sin, with a full assurance to the party who was commanded to commit it, that he would receive absolution from his guilt as soon as the command was performed. This being borne in mind, the clause in question, need not, I think, excite much surprise."—Sequel, pp. 67, 68.

No human patience can be sufficient to deal with Dr. Wordsworth. Here he takes the slanderous translation for granted, and then tells us, it need not "excite much surprise." Why? Because he puts a false interpretation on other expressions; and thus one blunder is made to defend another. The Superior of the Jesuits has power to absolve the members of his order from all sin; therefore, says Dr. Wordsworth, he commands them to sin, that he may absolve them. The Queen of England has power to pardon all murderers, therefore, according to this way of reasoning, she commands her subjects to take away the lives of those she hates! This is the distorted way in which a learned English churchman treats serious and awful things. We will let Dr. Wordsworth into a secret. Not only the Superiors of the Jesuits, but all the Vicars-Apostolic, and all the Missionary Priests, in Great Britain, have power to absolve from all sin every one who has recourse to them. It is not necessary to be a Jesuit to have this privilege; but we do not know of any instance in which a man or woman was commanded to sin by a priest. Probably Dr. Wordsworth may supply cases of this kind; for our own part we cannot.

"The practical result," says Dr. Wordsworth, "of what has been now said is this: either the Superior may command mortal sin; or, he may make *that* to be mortal sin which was *no* sin before. Therefore he may make disobedience to himself to be mortal sin; and therefore his commands, however criminal, must be obeyed." Sequel, p. 73.

Dr. Wordsworth will grant that the legislature may command things to be done, which are not of obligation now; therefore it may make that to be sin which was no sin before. Therefore it may make disobedience to itself to be sin; and therefore its commands, however criminal,

must be obeyed. What does he gain by such an argument? A father may command his child to do an indifferent action; if the child disobeys, he commits a mortal sin,—therefore, according to Dr. Wordsworth, a father compels his child to commit a mortal sin. Unless he can show that the superior may command evil to be done, he proves nothing; for it does not follow that every exercise of authority is wrong, or that every one who has power will invariably abuse it. This way of arguing, if right, will uproot all theories of government, and destroy the very notion of obedience to every authority whatever.

Dr. Wordsworth lays all blame on the Jesuits: they are the scapegoats which bear all the evil that is done, and through them he attacks the Church which recognizes them, and tears up the foundations of all morality. It would be well if he and others would remember whose name they bear; and consider whether He whose servants they are may not be insulted in their persons. Hatred of the Jesuits, in our opinion, is not a Christian virtue, and there may be a very alarming meaning in those words which Jesus spoke Himself: "*Et eritis odio omnibus propter NOMEN meum.*"

Our next charge against the learned canon was, that he had attributed opinions to Cardinal Hosius which were not his, but those of heretics against whom he was writing. The excuse he gives in the "Sequel" is as follows:

"I must begin with thanking the Reviewer for pointing out and correcting my error in ascribing to Hosius what is written by him in the name of an adversary. It may not be of much interest to you or to any one, to know how this error arose; but in order that you may not imagine that I had any desire to injure the memory of Hosius, I may be permitted to mention, that the tenor of the treatise from which the passage is taken, is so much in harmony with the passage itself, that I did not perceive that Hosius in this place was speaking in another man's person, and not his own."  
—p. 91.

This defence makes matters worse: instead of a particular charge against Hosius, we have now a general one. Heretical opinions quoted by Hosius are so like his own, that Dr. Wordsworth mistakes the one for the other. A man is charged with lying and thieving unjustly, and the defence is, that these acts are so like his general habits,

that his accusers did not see these crimes were falsely charged upon him. Such is Dr. Wordsworth's defence; and yet he tells us he had "no desire to injure the memory of Hosius."

He then goes on as follows to justify himself from wilful negligence. We said that he must have known that he was injuring Hosius, because the very edition of his works which he professed to quote from, pointed out distinctly that the words attributed by him to Hosius were not those of Hosius. Our charge was, that Dr. Wordsworth made something more than a blunder.

"Let me also add, as a somewhat remarkable fact, and as showing that the passage in question was very liable to be so misapprehended, that instead of the words cited by the Reviewer, as standing in the margin, '*hæreticorum argumenta ridicula*,'—which were added in later editions—the following are placed by the side of the passage, in the earlier copies; for instance, in one now before me of 1562, p. 242, *F. A Deo nos doctos et non solum legis aut Scripturæ peritos esse oportet*."

There is no dispute about the edition of 1562, and it is no answer to us that the words we quoted are not in the margin of the text in that edition. Dr. Wordsworth in his "Letters" quoted the edition of 1584, and in that edition are the words we mentioned. He does not answer the charge, but picks up meanwhile another edition, and under cover of that tries to blind his readers. Either Dr. Wordsworth quoted from a copy of Hosius's works, or he did not; if he did, it was from the edition of 1584, as it appears in his "Letters," and we have convicted him of suppressing a material part. If he did not use any copy of the works of Hosius, he took his authorities on trust from earlier writers; in both cases Dr. Wordsworth must forfeit his character as a trustworthy controversialist.

The learned canon of Westminster has opinions of his own on the subject of literary delinquencies. Whenever his own mistakes are detected, he shelters himself under the excuse that others made them before him; so that whatever may be thought of his learning and reading, it is quite clear that he has no originality. We have really to withdraw the charge that we made against him, that he was original in his errors; we do so, and beg his forgiveness for having thought him possessed of any genius, even for blundering. It seems that this accusation against

Hosius was not invented by Dr. Wordsworth. He finds it in Jewell, whom Harding detected: but Dr. Wordsworth, nothing abashed, palms it upon the world as an original discovery of his own. Cardinal Bellarmine also, in the preface to his Tract on Councils, had called attention to this protestant mode in which the works of Hosius had been dealt with; Dr. Wordsworth quotes Bellarmine as if he was familiar with him; does he read him only for the purpose of finding fault? When Jewell was detected in his false charge against Hosius, he defended himself thus: we quote from Dr. Wordsworth.

"Thus Hosius, in his book concerning the express word of God, *but shrewdly* and in the person of another, although he clearly affirms the same thing himself in other places and in the same book."—Sequel, p. 92.

Honest Jewell then considers Hosius to be not only irreverent, but a mean and cunning writer, insinuating false principles under the pretence of refuting them. Dr. Wordsworth thinks those principles so like the general opinions of Hosius, that he makes that belief of his, his own justification for the worse than blunder.

We now return to the "Letters" in order to make what follows intelligible.

"Pope Gelasius condemned the practice of *half communion* as sacrilegious." This assertion is made to rest on the following note:

"Grande Sacrilegium, A.D. 492. Jus Canon. Comperimus, de consecratione, dist. 2. c. 12." Which means that Pope Gelasius, in the year 492, pronounced what Dr. Wordsworth calls *half communion*, a great sacrilege, *grande sacrilegium*. Dr. Wordsworth refers his readers for the proof of his statement, not to the Epistle of Pope Gelasius, but to an extract from it in the *Decretum*. We turn to it, and the first thing we see is this:

*Corpus Christi sine Ejus Sanguine Sacerdos non debet accipere.* "The priest must not receive the Body of Christ without His blood." This is the title of the Canon, and this is the purpose for which it is inserted in the *Decretum*. It refers not to the laity at all, but to the priests. Dr. Wordsworth is without excuse, for not only does the title of the canon deny his sense of it, but the gloss upon it gives its true sense as follows:



"*Erant quidam sacerdotes qui ordine debito consecrabant corpus et sanguinem Christi: sed a sanguine abstinebant: de quo miratur Gelasius, et dicit se nescire qua superstitione hoc faciebant. Et præcipit ut aut ambo sacramenta sicut confecerant accipiant: aut ab utrisque cessent: quia in sacrificante unum sine altero accipere, sacrilegium est.*"

Which substantially is this: those priests who have duly consecrated in both kinds must receive under both, or they must cease to celebrate; for him who has offered the sacrifice to receive under one kind without the other is sacrilege. Nothing could be clearer. We pointed out to Dr. Wordsworth that the title and the gloss were against him, that he was in error on the subject, and that he was without excuse in making it.

His defence is as follows:

"To this I reply by reiterating my assertion; which I prove thus:—Gelasius was Bishop of Rome at the end of the fifth century.—A.D. 492-496—The passage which I quote from him, is taken from one of his letters to two brother bishops."—Sequel, p. 128.

Dr. Wordsworth, say we, did not quote from Gelasius, and for a very good reason, he could not: he quoted from the *Decretum* of Gratian; we have his own authority for saying so in the note which he has added to his text. We should not have quarrelled with him, if he had quoted from Ivo whom he seems to have discovered lately; probably from Ayliffe's *Parergon*, to whom he refers with great accuracy. Our charge was, and is, that he had quoted from Gratian, and had shut his eyes to the fact that the passage was directed against priests. Instead of acknowledging our charge to be true, he pretends to have quoted the words from Gelasius whom he never saw, and this in spite of his own note which refers us to Gratian. Let him produce the epistle of Gelasius, or tell us where he saw it.

He then goes on to say:

"The precept of Gelasius, as I have observed, is found in one of his letters, with no 'title or gloss.' It is simply a paragraph in an epistle. This paragraph was extracted from the letter, and transcribed into the canon law of the Roman Church, and it stands in the collection of canons called the *Decretum* of Gratian, who was a Benedictine monk of Bologna, in the twelfth century, and completed his work about the year 1149, and dedicated it to Pope Eugenius III. You will find the same paragraph, &c."

We give this useless passage as a specimen of Dr.



Wordsworth's way of carrying on controversy. He first of all ignores the charge against him, then runs away into a long rambling account of books and men who have no more to do with the question before him than they have with the corn-laws. Ivo, Micrologus, Radulphus de Rivo, and Cassander, whom he mentions as if he was quite familiar with them, are not wanted.

Dr. Wordsworth quoted Gratian unfairly, that is the charge. We never accused him of reading Gelasius, for we are afraid of the penalties attached to bringing false accusations, but of reading Gratian dishonestly. This is our charge, and by this we abide. Dr. Wordsworth quotes Gratian as his authority for saying that Pope Gelasius condemned communion under one kind as a great sacrilege; we have shown beyond all dispute that Gratian says no such thing. The controversy is one of fact; let Dr. Wordsworth meet it like an honest man.

It is nothing to the present purpose what Pope Gelasius intended to condemn; that was not the question between us. The intentions of the Pope in that obscure quotation have been explained in two ways, but we are not concerned with those explanations, and shall not be drawn to consider them, as is Dr. Wordsworth's manner, but content ourselves with merely exposing the learned canon's misdealings with his authors.

"By the decree of the council of Constance, which excommunicates all who administer in both kinds, the Church of Rome has virtually condemned her Pope Gelasius as a heretic, and by the decree of Trent, which pronounces a curse on all who affirm that communion in both kinds is necessary, she has anathematized her infallible judge."—Sequel, p. 141.

This passage contains about as much sense as there is in the following sentence:

"That parliament which inflicted penalties on reckless driving and cruelty to animals, virtually condemned its predecessors as merciless to beasts and regardless of human life: and Queen Victoria, by not condemning people to death for those offences whose penalty was death in the reign of George III, condemns her grandfather as a murderer of his subjects."

Dr. Wordsworth is fond of sententious sayings and apt quotations, we will give him one which will be of great service to him; *distingue tempora, et concordabunt omnia*.

Nothing can be more unworthy a learned divine, than to confound times and habits. It would be absurd in Dr. Wordsworth to dress himself like one of the monks whose place he now occupies. The canons of Westminster do their work in their day; each probably differing in some things from his predecessor; yet it is no reflection on those who went before them. Dean Ireland knew nothing of geology, but it would be very injurious to his memory to condemn him because Dr. Buckland takes a view of his duties more in accordance with the temper of his day. There can be nothing more unphilosophical than to contrast one age of the Church with another; each generation has its own work to do, and its own way of doing it. Discipline varies, faith remains one and unchanged. If Pope Gelasius differed from Pope Pius IX. in matters of faith, Dr. Wordsworth may be allowed to boast: but when even he cannot allege contradictions, but mere variation of discipline, such accusations as he brings against us are ludicrous. The Church is a living and ruling authority, is not tied to paper legislation or local arrangements, but ever guided by the spirit of truth, determines in every age her own course and the duties of her children.

The council of Constance, according to Dr. Wordsworth, was an assembly of bold and wicked men, who, notwithstanding the commandment of our Lord, deliberately ruled the contrary. Such it appears to him was the act of that council in sanctioning the practice of communion under one kind. Dr. Wordsworth and his colleagues consider it to be a commandment of Christ that the laity should receive under both kinds; but if they cannot make good this proposition, they do nothing whatever towards securing themselves from the charge of bringing false accusations against the Church. Upon this point we prefer the authority of Cardinal Bellarmine to that of Dr. Wordsworth, to say nothing, at present, of the council of Trent.

Bishop Bull tells us, but most untruly, that the fathers of the Council of Constance, "in express terms, acknowledge that Christ *instituted the Sacrament to be received in both kinds*, yea, that it was so administered and received in the primitive Church; yet with a *non obstante*, notwithstanding all this they boldly and blasphemously decree against communion in both kinds, as a thing dangerous and scandalous." Vindication, § 14. Dr. Wordsworth, whose great merit is to allow no tradition of his

communion to fail, has reproduced this assertion of Bull's. Dr. Bull, being a learned man, did not venture to quote the words of the Council, but Dr. Wordsworth is a bolder man, in his "Letters," p. 148, and in the "Sequel," p. 127, gives them to the world as follows:

"*Licet Christus discipulis administraverit sub utraq̃ue specie,..... tamen hoc non obstante, consuetudo est rationabiliter introducta, quod licet in primitiva, &c.*"

This the learned doctor calls a "striking practical specimen of development in all its anti-scriptural destructiveness," words which he uses in his "Letters," and again repeats in the "Sequel." Is there no difference between "administered" and "instituted?" We think there is.

The council of Constance made that to be a law which had hitherto depended only on the common tradition of the Church. It found that great scandal had been given in some places; for people maintained that they ought to receive under both kinds, and that they might do so *after dinner or supper*, and otherwise *not fasting*, and also condemned the practice of the Church as sacrilegious. Against these propositions the Council decreed—

"That although Christ *after supper* did institute and administer to His disciples under both kinds this venerable sacrament, yet, notwithstanding, the laudable authority of holy canons, and the approved custom of the church required and requires that this sacrament be not celebrated *after supper*, nor received by the faithful who are not fasting, unless in cases of illness or other necessity allowed by law, or granted by the church. And in like manner, that although in the primitive church this sacrament was received by the faithful under both kinds, yet this custom for avoiding risks and scandals has been reasonably introduced, that the celebrant should receive under both, and the laity under one kind only."

Such is the decree of the council of Constance: it has two purposes to serve; to condemn those who would receive the Eucharist after meals, and to defend the custom of the Church against the assaults of the heretics. To the first part it replies, though our Lord did institute and administer after supper in both kinds, yet only those who are fasting shall receive it. To the second, though in the primitive Church people received under both kinds, yet for certain reasons a contrary custom has been reasonably introduced. The council does not contemplate any command-

ment at all: it justifies the uniform practice of the Church from the earliest days in celebrating the Eucharist in the morning, notwithstanding that Christ did institute and administer it in the evening; and in giving it only to persons fasting, notwithstanding that the Apostles received it after supper. If the Catholic Church be on this point in error, and contradict the commandment of our Lord, the establishment of this country is equally in error, and Dr. Wordsworth himself is not free from the charge he brings against the Church, of "antiscritptural destructiveness." The late Dr. Dillon used to administer the communion in the evening, and we have heard of some other Anglican clergy who have occasionally done so in their churches; these may have some right to charge us with departing from the practice of our Lord, but Dr. Wordsworth and all respectable Anglicans have none. The celebration of the Eucharist in the morning, and not after supper, is a greater departure from the example of our Lord than is the "denial of the cup to the laity," for He gave the cup to no layman, but only to His Apostles, whom He then made priests.

From the extract out of the council given before, it is clear that Dr. Wordsworth's charge is good against us. If the words of the decree be as he represents them, the defence we have made is not true; we shall, therefore, place in parallel columns Dr. Wordsworth's citation, and the corresponding portion of the decree. Our readers will have thereby an opportunity of judging how much Dr. Wordsworth is to be trusted, whenever he quotes books that are not easily accessible.

Dr. Wordsworth.

"Hoc præsens concilium sacrum generale in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregatum, decernit, quod licet Christus discipulis administraverit sub utraque specie .....tamen hoc non obstante consuetudo est rationabiliter introducta, quod licet in primitiva ecclesia reciperetur sub utraque specie, postea a laicis tantummodo sub specie panis recipiatur.

recipierit, et suis discipulis administraverit sub utraque specie, panis et vini hoc venerabile Sacramentum; tamen hoc non obstante, sacrorum

The council first recites the demands of the heretics which we have just mentioned.

"Hinc est, quod hoc præsens concilium sacrum generale Constantiense, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregatum, adversus hunc errorem salutem fidelium providere satagens, matura plurium doctorum tam divini quam humani juris deliberatione præhabita, declarat decernit et diffinit: Quod licet Christus post cœnam insti-

canonum auctoritas laudabilis et approbata consuetudo Ecclesiæ servavit et servat, quod hujusmodi sacramentum non debet confici post cœnam, neque a fidelibus recipi non jejunis, nisi in casu infirmitatis aut alterius necessitatis, a jure vel Ecclesia concessio vel admissio. Et sicut hæc consuetudo ad evitandum aliqua pericula et scandala est rationabiliter introducta, quod licet in primitiva Ecclesia hujusmodi sacramentum reciperetur a fidelibus sub utraque specie, tamen postea a conficientibus sub utraque, et a laicis tantummodo sub specie panis suscipiatur."

In order to bring out the marvellous fairness with which Dr. Wordsworth gives the words of the council, we have marked in italics every word of his extract. Even an unlearned reader will see at once that any proposition whatever may be made out of any book whatever, if such a way of quoting may be tolerated. For our own part we do not think Dr. Wordsworth so guilty as at first sight he appears to be, being persuaded that he never read the decree, but copied it from some modern book of Protestant controversy. Neither again do we expect to see him show any contrition for his fault, if fault it be, for he will as usual defend himself by appealing to the example of bishop Bull.

We are sorry to find that he will have the countenance herein of a man far more learned than himself, the Editor of Bramhall, in the "Anglo-Catholic library." Bramhall's own conscience was too strict to allow him to make the accusation which Dr. Wordsworth has made, accordingly he leaves it as a doubtful point; his words are as follows:

"Even to give a *non obstante* either to the institution of Christ, or at least to the *uniform practice* of the primitive ages, or to *them both*."  
—Bramhall. vol. 1. p. 47.

Bramhall does not speak unfairly, for according to his view the "denial of the cup" is wrong, and he is certain only that the council went against the "uniform practice," while he leaves it doubtful whether it contradicted the institution of our Lord. The editor, however, had no misgivings; thus he writes,

"In the decree of the council of Constance, which restricts communion in both kinds to the officiating ministers—ap. Labb. Concil. Tom. xii. p. 100.—giving the bread only to the laity, *such restriction is enacted with an express non obstante, both to the institution of Christ and to primitive practice.*"—note.

The progress of mistakes multiplies them. Luther began to misuse the council of Constance, and his traditions are defended by Dr. Wordsworth. Laud however saw that the council was not easily twisted to this purpose, and he had recourse to an argument to prove that this was the meaning of the council, in spite of Cardinal Bellarmine's denial, whom we take to be a better expounder of canons and customs of the Church, than those who break the one and deny the authority of the other. The council of Constance did not admit that our Lord *commanded* the Eucharist to be administered under both kinds. The Church is at issue with protestants on that point. If there be no commandment of Christ on the subject, much fine and indignant declamation has been wasted. We deny that our Lord commanded us to receive under both kinds, and therefore are not guilty of sacrilege or disobedience.

Another charge against the council of Constance brought by Dr. Wordsworth is this: That it taught that "no faith was to be kept with heretics." The learned canon referred us in his "Letters," to a decree of the nineteenth session as his authority; we replied by "a flat denial," and challenged any interpretation to be given to that decree, which did not imply the necessity of keeping faith with every body. The writer of the "Letters" in his "Sequel" abandons the charge in reality, though on the surface he appears to maintain it.

The case is this: The emperor Sigismund, a layman, gave John Huss, a suspected heretic, a safe conduct to the council. Like all heretics, Huss thought himself safe when the civil power protected him, and accordingly appeared before the spiritual judge. He was convicted of plain undeniable heresy, and necessarily condemned to be delivered over to the secular arm. The Church could do no more, she was not bound by any understanding between Huss and the emperor, nor was she to pronounce a heretic innocent, because the civil power afforded him protection.\* She had offered him no safe conduct, she had not invited him to appear as an equal or a friend, but summoned him as a criminal to her bar. Her duty was to examine whether

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\* The Emperor himself recognized the independence of the council's jurisdiction. "*Sin pergis defendere tuas opiniones,*" said he to Huss, "*Concilium facile, habebit quod de te secundum suas leges decernat.*"



Huss was a heretic or not, and to decree accordingly. Dr. Wordsworth, in the interval between the publication of his two books, has discovered another decree of the council, on which he now mainly relies; he refers us for this to Von der Hardt, iv. p. 522, but as he has been good enough to print it in his appendix, there is no necessity for search. Indeed, the decree is printed at the end of session eighteen, in Colet's edition of the Councils. The safe conduct is from the emperor, and until it can be shown that one supreme power can bind another equally supreme without its consent, and in matters of its own exclusive cognizance, we must maintain our position; that the council has done nothing to deserve the charge which is brought against it.

The council itself gave a safe conduct to Jerome of Prague, and yet Jerome was punished. That safe conduct is on record among the acts of the sixth session. Jerome appeared on the faith of that promise, and on the citation of the ecclesiastical judge. His case would have been a far better one than that of Huss, whose safe conduct came from the emperor, who could not bind the council. Besides, it would be ludicrous to pretend to judge a man who could defy the execution of the sentence. If the safe conduct of the emperor had the effect which Dr. Wordsworth with all protestants attributes to it, we must pronounce the fathers of the council of Constance not knaves for violating it, but simpletons for sitting in judgment on a man who was beyond their jurisdiction.

If safe conducts imply an immunity from deserved punishment, he who grants them destroys his own authority; for it would be merely a waste of time to inquire into the criminality of a man, whom beforehand he had promised not to punish. A safe conduct implies nothing but protection from violence, from illegal detention or treatment. A herald passes from one camp to another in safety, but if he breaks the peace himself, or forgets his character, the law of nations does not in such cases protect him. A witness is safe going to, and returning from, court, but if he commits a crime on his way, or perjures himself while giving his evidence, he may be arrested on the spot and imprisoned. Safe conduct implies nothing more, it cannot be given as a protection against law, but in order to the due execution of law, *salva semper justitia*. The emperor performed his part in procuring for Huss a safe journey to



Constance, he could do no more, he could not protect him against himself. If Huss had been innocent, the emperor would have enabled him to return home in safety ; but as he was found guilty of heresy, and of the school of Wycliffe, which first among christians threw out Pantheistic opinions, the emperor had no power and no right to save him.

It is almost amusing to read what Dr. Wordsworth has written on the Catholic value of oaths and allegiance to the sovereign. He tells us that, on our own principles, we are not bound to obey heretical kings, and that we may at any time, with or without cause, pronounce any sovereign a heretic, and so release ourselves from the obligation of obedience. It is needless and useless to deny such an absurd accusation ; we therefore content ourselves with the argument of retaliation. An act of the English parliament, in the reign of William and Mary, pronounces that sovereign deposed, who shall become a Catholic, and his subjects released from their oaths of allegiance. This is nothing else but to say, that the sovereign ceases to be such on becoming a heretic in the protestant sense, which means Catholic.

Dr. Wordsworth appears as the advocate of episcopal authority, and is indignant at being told that the jurisdiction of the bishops is derived from the Pope. "Every Romish bishop," he says, "is only a *copyholder* under the Pope, and not a *freeholder* under Christ." Our learned canon considers every bishop to have full power to do what he likes, subject only to the crown. His jurisdiction seems according to him, to be inherent in him, but the exercise of it is controllable by the civil power. Practically we do not differ ; with him a bishop is nothing without the king, and his grievance is, that our bishops depend on the Pope, and not on the secular power. He bursts forth into the following alarming supposition, at the bare mention of the supreme authority of the Holy See.

"Reflect, sir, for a moment on the fact, that, according to this claim, no church could be consecrated, no clergyman ordained, no child confirmed, throughout the whole Roman world, if it so pleased the Pope."—Sequel, p. 167.

No doubt about it. What then ? Is he and his communion in greater safety ? We may retaliate upon him his own saying ; it is in the power of the English government to do what he says the Pope may do. If the Pope has the power

of suspending all the bishops of the Catholic Church, so also has the English government the power of suspending all Anglican bishops. The consent of the Pope is necessary to the regular administration of the sacraments in the Church, and consequently no bishop can be consecrated without his leave. Dr. Wordsworth has the hardihood to object this to us—which is really no objection—while he himself and his whole communion are in the power of the king. The act 26, George III., Cap. 84 says, that “by the laws of this realm, no person can be consecrated to the office of a bishop *without the king's licence* for his election to that office, and the king's royal mandate under the great seal for his *confirmation and consecration*.”

Dr. Wordsworth may not believe us, but we are sure he will not refuse belief in an act of parliament.

He tells us in the sequel—

“That if a Roman Catholic bishop is promoted to an archbishopric, all his episcopal power immediately falls into abeyance, and he is incapacitated from performing any episcopal act, till he receives the *Pallium* from Rome, and if he fails to obtain it, he can never exercise more any episcopal function, but his episcopal authority is, as it were, stifled, and dies.”—p. 166.

In this passage the learned canon confuses jurisdiction with orders; and again, the episcopal character with the archiepiscopal dignity. It is quite true that no archbishop can perform acts of the greater jurisdiction before he has received the *Pallium*, but he may perform episcopal acts even such as ordination, in private; besides, the rule is, not that he *cannot*, but that he *ought* not, till he has obtained the *Pallium* from Rome.

In our July number of 1847, we stated that Dr. Wordsworth had confounded the benediction of the oils on Maundy Thursday, with confirmation of children. He denies that we did him justice, and tells us that the reason of his instancing confirmation was not because he thought *chrisma conficere* meant it, but because confirmation was a well known episcopal act. He wrote in the “Letters,”

“No Romanist archbishop can consecrate a church, or confirm a child, without receiving the *Pallium* from Rome.”—p. 314.

This statement is made to rest on a rubric of the Pontifical, part of which he quotes in a note, and the only words in it which can have any relation to confirmation

are *chrisma conficere*, we therefore thought that Dr. Wordsworth had made a mistake—no unreasonable supposition—and ventured to make the assertion which has hurt his feelings as a scholar. If we have really done him an injury we beg to express our sorrow, and to recall our words. His defence, however, is not a denial of our charge, but reasons against it, which do not touch the fact: we should prefer a direct denial to a circuitous process which ends in another form of defence. He says:

“Since the acts which are commonly best known as episcopal in this country, are consecrations of churches and confirmations of children, I selected those acts as exemplifying the meaning of the order in the Pontifical.”—p. 168.

The defence fails in three points; in the first place ordination is better known in this country as an episcopal act, than either of those he mentions; for most of the bishops ordain twice in the year, while they do not confirm children generally oftener than once in three years. In the next place he is wrong when he says that an archbishop may not confirm without the *Pallium*: and in the third place, his original statement was a matter of fact, and cannot be regarded as a mere illustration drawn from what men are familiar with, to explain what they do not know. Besides, he was writing to M. Gondon, a Catholic, who did not require any such help as an illustration drawn from protestant practice, to understand the discipline of his own Church.

Will Dr. Wordsworth tell us plainly that he knew the real meaning of *chrisma conficere* when he wrote his Letters to M. Gondon? We will take his word for it, but not his reasons; we expect a plain answer, yes or no. At present his defence reminds us of those ingenious devices by which skilful lawyers contrive to answer interrogatories without committing themselves to any direct assertion. A more offensive form of it is to be found in a prevaricating witness, whose conscience will not allow him to commit direct prejury, but whose habitual dishonesty hinders him from speaking the truth.

Dr. Wordsworth, like an ingenious advocate, shifts from his own shoulders the burden of the accusation which we tried to throw upon them: if he was wrong, it seems that we were ourselves much more so, and of course the error in our case is more inexcusable than in his. He writes:—

"But after his animadversion on my alleged translation of the words *chrisma conficere*, I must beg leave to inform him that he does not understand them himself. The term *chrisma conficere* does not mean the 'blessing of the oils' as he renders it, but the 'confection of the chrism,' which is a very different thing."—Sequel, p. 169.

*Chrisma conficere*, then, according to Dr. Wordsworth, is a mechanical operation, and he quotes from the Catechism what he calls "the proper recipe" for making it. Dr. Wordsworth's quotations have a character of their own about them, and we shall therefore transcribe the present with scrupulous accuracy, that our readers may see with their own eyes what we shall not describe. He quotes from the Catechism of the council of Trent :

"Pars. ii. cap. iii. Qu. 6. *Chrisma unguenti genus quod ex oleo et balsamo conficitur.* Qu. 6. Neque ad alium ea *confectio* nisi ad episcopum pertinet."

Now admitting that Dr. Wordsworth has quoted accurately, he has made nothing against our statement: for *confectio* is not necessarily a manual or mechanical operation. Our controversialist has himself translated it as we have done;—Sequel, p. 108, in a note we have these words, *a conficientibus*, ("i. e. by the consecrating priest or celebrant,") in another note, p. 130, he admits the same sense of the word *conficere*. It is a waste of time to insist upon this meaning of the word, which every one who has ever read the rubrics of the Missal must be familiar with: *conficere sacramentum* is to celebrate the Eucharist; but according to Dr. Wordsworth it is to make the bread, and to distil the wine.

We now return to the quotation from the Catechism given with so much apparent accuracy: but in reality with the greatest possible dishonesty; for the learned canon has passed over blindly those very words which contradict the use he makes of the others. The words are as follows: *unguentum.....quod ex oleo et balsamo sollemni episcopi consecratione conficitur*. The words which we have printed in italics have been quietly suppressed by Dr. Wordsworth. The Catechism of the council of Trent speaks of "the solemn episcopal consecration," but Dr. Wordsworth, finding that declaration inconvenient for his defence, was not honest enough to let his readers see it. The next portion of his quotation is equally removed from fairness:

which is in qu. 9, not 6. He represents *confectio*, in the second place, as a mechanical act, by his ingenuous negligence of the context. The Catechism declares it necessary that the matter of the Sacrament of confirmation *sanctis et religiosis precationibus consecratur; neque ad alium EA CONFECTIO nisi ad episcopum pertinere potest*. What is the *ea confectio*? Some definite *confectio* is undoubtedly meant; it is the consecration of the matter of the Sacrament, as is clear to every one who is not wilfully blind to the plain meaning of words. We used the popular expression for the ceremonies of Maundy Thursday, "blessing of the oils," which is a more general one than the accurate and exact translation of *chrisma conficere*, and we admit that we were in error so far: so far as popular language is less exact than the definite expression of the rubrics.

Dr. Wordsworth refers the Reviewer to "the Trent Catechism, which," he says, "will give him a full account of its uses and meaning; and then he will be able to instruct others in that matter." There is one person whom we shall never be able to instruct in that or any other matter, much as he seems to need it. We must, however, ask him one question before we leave this point. Did he quote from the catechism itself, to which he refers us? If he did not, but took his quotation on trust, his recommendation to us loses much of its value; if he did, did he expect us to take any quotation whatever on his authority?

"The Reviewer speaks of the *benediction* of the oils on Maundy Thursday; and this recalls to the memory another purpose for which that solemn day is commanded by Roman Pontiffs to be used, I mean the *malediction* of all Protestants, who are made the object of the most bitter curses in the Bull which derives its name from that sacred anniversary."—Sequel, pp. 169-70.

If we were to say that Dr. Wordsworth maintains the annual publication of the Bull *in cæna Domini*, he would probably retort upon us, that we have misinterpreted him. Yet it is difficult to know what he means; he does not say distinctly that the Bull is published, yet few readers would not think that he means to say that it is. In his "Letters" he says, "so far, then, as it regards the Pope, this Bull, which anathematizes all Protestants, is recited every year in the course of Divine service in all Roman

Catholic Churches." Ordinary readers might understand him, to state that the Bull is actually recited every year; but he does not really say so. It would have been more dignified, and more becoming an honest man, to have stated distinctly what his impressions are. We must add that the Bull is not published, and has not been published since the pontificate of Clement XIV.

Dr. Wordsworth brings forward once more the Hungarian confession; but, like a man conscious of a bad cause, labours to maintain its value by arguments which prove nothing. He puts together a number of extracts from different writers, which appear to him identical, or nearly so, with the propositions of that document. It would weary the reader to examine every one of them, we shall therefore confine ourselves to that which he pretends to take from Alphonsus a Castro, who, according to Dr. Wordsworth, says, "the translation of the Scripture is the cause of all heresy." What Alphonsus said was this: "We are persuaded by many and irrefragable testimonies, that the translation of the Holy Scripture into the vulgar tongue, *may* be the cause of many heresies," *multarum hæresum posse esse causam*; which is a little different from what Dr. Wordsworth says. We do not mean to assert that the other quotations are equally irrelevant, for we have examined only this one; but our opinion is, that they will turn out, on examination, to be utterly useless for the purpose which they are made to subserve.

In our first notice of Dr. Wordsworth's Letters we repudiated the Hungarian confession, and declared that it came to us upon no authority whatever. The learned doctor had asserted that the editors of the book in which he found the confession were both Catholics: "two learned members of the Church." We said nothing of one of the editors of that book—Streitwolf, because it did not appear that he had anything to do with the Hungarian confession; and as to his colleague, Klener, we pronounced him a protestant. Dr. Wordsworth's answer is this:—

"If he will read the preface prefixed to their edition of the 'Symbolical books of the Catholic Church,' as they call the church of Rome, (a confirmation of the fact that they were members of that church,) he will see that they engaged in the work as Roman Catholics, and that it is published by them as a Roman Catholic work."—Sequel, pp. 196-7.

The Reviewer did read the preface even before he read



Dr. Wordsworth's book ; and even now, after acting on Dr. Wordsworth's advice, we cannot come to any conclusion which is not directly against that which the author of the Sequel comes to ; the very first sentence of that preface, and in particular the note upon it, makes it clear to us Klener was a protestant. The account of the Bull *in cœna Domini*, makes it still clearer, while the note on the Sacraments, at p. 247 of the book itself, puts the question out of the region of doubt. But there is no necessity for entering into such an enquiry, "confirmation of the fact" is afforded us on the title page. Streitwolf is there described as a "minister of the Word of God at Bodenfeld." He was the protestant minister of Bodenfeld on the Weser, in the kingdom of Hanover. Klener, by his own confession, is a licentiate in theology, having private pupils at the university of Gottingen. And we apprehend that king Ernest is too good a protestant to allow Catholics to be either parish ministers, or private tutors at his university. Dr. Wordsworth might just as well ask us to believe that he is a Catholic because he is a canon of Westminster. So much for Streitwolf and Klener. As to the confession itself, Dr. Wordsworth does not bring a single proof that it is what it purports to be, a genuine document. He adduces, as usual, instances of men believing it to be genuine, they are protestants and controversialists ; but with his wonted felicity he produces clear evidence that the whole is a gross imposition. The University of Königsberg, it seems, gave a sort of sanction to the story that this was a genuine confession, by publishing it at the university press in 1821. Dr. Wordsworth—we take the fact on his authority, simply because it tells against him—informs us, that "at a national Roman Catholic Church synod of Hungary," this document was pronounced "*false and calumnious*."—Sequel, p. 206. So much for this contrivance. After having gone into these dirty waters, Dr. Wordsworth has caught another confession of equal sobriety and equal authenticity. He calls it the Silesian, "whose genuineness is proved by public documents, now extant in Silesia, and certified by credible living witnesses."—Sequel, p. 210. All we say is this, we do not believe that there are any "credible living witnesses" to any such thing, and that we have no difficulty whatever in challenging Dr. Wordsworth to produce them, or even their depositions.



We should gain nothing by the most elaborate refutation of the propositions contained in the Hungarian and Silesian confessions; for our denial of them would be taken as evidence of their truth. Dr. Wordsworth, who refuses to believe Almighty God, speaking through the Catholic Church, has not the slightest difficulty in believing nameless protestants and interested libellers of the faith. Protestants reproach us with being credulous; yet in reality we are sceptics compared with them. They believe the most extravagant assertions of the most unprincipled men upon no evidence at all, and because there is none, and because there can be none whereon they can rest.

Dr. Wordsworth's defence of himself against our charge, that he believed the Pope to be Antichrist, and yet acquiesced in M. Gondon's continuance in communion with him, is unintelligible to us. Probably he is inclined to retract his opinion, at the same time insinuating his original assertions to be true, and defending them by quotations from heathen authors and Prudentius, to prove that Rome is built on seven hills; a mode of proof which would entitle Durham and Dr. Maltby to be called Antichrist. The truth is this, Dr. Wordsworth knows very well that the Church must be everywhere; and that to deny the Church of Rome to be at least a part of the Catholic Church, would be an absurdity. He therefore has recourse to the wildest possible dream, that the Church is a corrupt portion of some abstraction to which he himself invisibly belongs. Still the Pope is somehow or other Antichrist, and M. Gondon is recommended to take care of his own soul by doubting half his creed; he is advised to become a protestant in spirit, and yet to conform outwardly to the rites of the Church. He is exhorted by his honest correspondent in this form:—

“Retain all the truth you possess. Preserve the Scriptures, preserve the creeds, preserve the three orders of Christian ministers; preserve the decalogue, the Lord's prayer.....But while you *preserve* these things *purify* them also. Purify the scriptures from their alloy of traditions.....purify the creeds from their Tridentine additions.”—Sequel, p. 244.

This is the reasonable advice which a learned and sensible man gives to a Catholic layman, who, if he acts even

in the slightest degree upon such advice, undertakes an impossible task, and becomes inevitably a heretic.

A few pages before Dr Wordsworth had told his correspondent that he could not act in the way he now requires him to do. He stated the principle truly, but applied it wrongly. When he was expounding the wickedness of the Hungarian and Silesian confessions, he felt a sort of consciousness that his correspondent was not bound by them. It was therefore necessary to prove that if he did dissent from those principles, that he did it unlawfully, and as a protestant, and that in truth he could not. Though he might purify the creeds and the scriptures, yet he could not purify the Hungarian confession, nor free himself from the guilt of them.

"Allow me therefore to repeat," he says in the most affectionate tone, "that it is not in *your power consistently with Romanist principles to abhor* these propositions. If you revere Rome you cannot execrate them. They are to be regarded as a part of her teaching, and as a consequence of it."—Sequel, p. 214.

Consistency is not to be expected in Dr. Wordsworth, neither is fair dealing. His treatment of ancient authors is more dishonest in its character than it becomes a christian. Yet we must repeat again, that we most fully acquit him of all intentional unfairness; we say this with the most perfect sincerity; his faults are those of the school to which he belongs, for no characteristic of human nature is more essentially dishonest in practice, than what is so often praised as "honest John Bullism." Men have convictions but they are founded on prejudice; they act upon them in perfect sincerity, and are astonished to find that they were in the wrong. The Spanish proverb contains a great truth, that hell is paved with good intentions; honest and well meaning men have committed grosser acts of injustice than highwaymen and pirates. We do not know of a more dangerous class, and one practically more unprincipled, than that which is made up of men who are said to be influenced by "the best intentions." In religious controversy Dr. Wordsworth sets out with this fundamental principle, that the Catholic Church must be in error, he is therefore careless as to the minuter parts of the inquiry; if he fails in one thing he is not moved by it, for he feels sure that he can succeed in another, and that his side is the right one. Now it is inconsistent in a protestant to

have this abiding conviction, not that he is in the right, but that the Catholic Church is wrong. While he professes to examine and inquire, he ought not to close the avenues towards one portion of the evidence which he ought well to weigh. It is an awful lesson for all people: here we see a moral condition which heathenism never produced, men not convinced that their own opinions are true, yet perfectly sure that the contradictions are false. So it is, protestants are not certain that what they hold is truth, yet are infallibly certain that the Catholic faith is a great lie.

Dr. Wordsworth has written two volumes on the "Destructive Character of the Church of Rome." What is this for the souls of men? We are not better prepared for death and our last account, by a strong persuasion, or even belief, that the Church of Rome is wrong. We want something positive, something on which to rely when affliction comes upon us. No man can live upon negatives. It would be a very thankless office in a physician to tell his patient what medicines would kill him; he has no use for such knowledge. So acts Dr. Wordsworth: he is very learned in finding fault, and very eloquent in denouncing dangerous principles; but *what* does he tell us that we can rest upon? absolutely nothing. His book may be acceptable to the members of his own church, but it is also equally acceptable to the Presbyterian and Socinian. Hatred to Rome is not the gospel, and christian faith is not a string of negations. If popery is to be refuted, it must be by something positive; some system must be produced, for people will not quit a house that shelters them, because the architecture is blamed by a beggar who has none. The devil in Paradise, when he tempted our first mother, uttered a mere negation; he had no positive system to establish, it was his business to destroy, not to build. Heresy, however positive it may be from time to time, is really built on a negation. It begins by denying the faith, and its moral principle is hate. Love belongs to unity, and that is in the Church, while outside are divisions and malice, false accusations and lies. Men will gain nothing by such books as these, for they will learn nothing from them which they do not know already; they do not minister to charity. Men of all religions may adopt them, and unite in a common cry against the Church, but it will not tend to edify; humility is not

encouraged, and charity is broken. Yet out of these contentions we derive consolation, for the Church is never stronger than when she is most assaulted, and God loves her most when the world rises against her. Even now, when the Vicar of Christ is in the hands of men, we know and are certain that the triumph of the Church will be the issue of the fight. The death of the Son of God was the hour of our deliverance.

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- ART. II.—1. *Sarawak, its Inhabitants and Productions, &c.* By HUGH LOW, Colonial Secretary at Labuh-an. Bentley, London : 1848.
2. *The Expedition to Borneo of H. M. S. Dido.* By Capt. the Hon. HENRY KEPPEL, R. N. Chapman and Hall, London : 1847.
3. *Borneo, and the Eastern Archipelago,* By FRANK S. MARRYATT JATI, Midshipman of H. M. S. Samarang. Longman, London : 1848.
4. *Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Samarang.* By Capt. Sir E. BELCHER, R.N. C.B. Reeve, London : 1848.
5. *A Narrative of Events at Borneo and Celebes.* By Capt. RODNEY MUNDY, R. N. Murray, London : 1848.

FEW men deserve so well of a country as do those of her sons who unostentatiously chalk out for themselves a career of honour and enterprise in the humbler walks of life, and pursue it with single-mindedness and perseverance till they attain an eminence whence they reflect honour and advantage to the commonwealth, and to the world at large. The ambition, which can stimulate to such exertions, is indeed noble ; for it is free from suspicion, and springs from no false source. Philanthropy and Christian benevolence support it through its trials. Human nature and fashion only desecry and recognize it amid the blaze of success. Fired by

“.....The shrill trumpet,  
The spirit-stirring drum, the ear-piercing fife,  
The royal banner,”

the warrior throws away his scabbard, and plunging into the thickest of the fight, he carves out for himself a

path to the Temple of Fame. That energy and vigour of conduct, which are the handmaids of success to him, are in some sort derived from the same source which supplies the war-horse or the hunter with corresponding powers. The base passions of man's evil heart are there worked upon. It is the mere animal which we behold and admire. The despatches characterize the battle-plain as the "field of glory," while they speak of gallant youths who have "fought and fallen for their country." But it may be doubted, even after all this flourish of trumpets, whether those heroes do not fight and fall for themselves, and that, too, merely in the course of a business to which they have served no unwilling an apprenticeship; while the real field of glory may be discovered in the career of him who, unknown and without the prospect of reward on earth, dedicates himself to the task of disseminating the arts of civilization among untutored savages, and preparing their minds for the reception of the Christian Faith. Where the soldier's sword can point to one Thermopylæ, the historian's pen may trace on every page the foul origin and still fouler action of

".....The big wars  
That make ambition virtue,"

into whose "pride, pomp, and circumstance," the pure spirit of patriotism and chivalry never entered; but in which the "plumed troop," and "neighing steed" are alike reduced to the level of the brute. Stripped of its gilded trappings and externals, the majesty of war becomes, indeed, a jest, and all its principles dwindle down into the merest insignificance when contrasted with the character to which we have alluded. Owing no allegiance beyond that which religion enforces and policy enjoins, obedient to none save his God and his king, mark the earnest, honest, and single-minded purpose of the man we have faintly sketched. See him animated by the sincere desire of sharing his high principles, as a believer in an atoning Saviour, with the ignorant savages of a far-distant and neglected clime. Behold him anxious to arouse them to a sense of their ignorance by the holy lesson of example as well as precept, and watch him as he patiently toils amid the jungle and the solitude of Borneo in the prosecution of his lofty purpose, undamaged by difficulties which might well cause his heart to quail; still persevering, though

unsupported by his country, for whose advantage, rather than his own, combined with that of the savage pirate, he was content thus to expend his health and treasure. Prompted by the purest emotions of benevolence and humanity, he pursues his onward course, and at length he succeeds—“*Labor improbus omnia vincit.*” He has fought and has won. His mission having been the protection of the humble and meek, has necessarily entailed the suppression of the proud and the wrong doer. These he has brought to a sense of shame and virtue by the mildest exertion of that tremendous power which knowledge has placed at his command. The naked pirates of the Malayan Archipelago, strong alone in numbers, and hitherto unbridled indulgence, sink into peaceful fishermen under the magical influence of a correction which is almost paternal, and ere many years have passed, the unknown adventurer is elevated to the rank of a native prince, clothed with ample power and opportunity for the prosecution of his benevolent design, in a field of almost unlimited extent. In these changes their author is himself unchanged. In his exaltation he retains all his pristine simplicity of purpose, earnestness of character, and discretion of judgment. Surrounded by no display of barbaric state, he contents himself with the actual power without its empty show and shadow. His strong will and firm purpose suffice to win obedience from the former hereditary foes of his newly acquired subjects.

Those who whilom came to burn, to ravage, and to murder, now come humble supplicants for admission to the envied privileges of trade and commercial intercourse, while whole tribes voluntarily surrender their cherished freedom of action into the hands of the great Benefactor, and solicit permission to pitch their tents beneath the influence of his paternal sway—on all hands, and in all hearts within the sphere of his actions the great principles of civilization are recognized; honesty, justice, mercy, charity, fair dealing, and freedom, take the place of piracy, oppression, tyranny, passion, roguery, and slavery; and well may the grateful recipients of all these blessings be excused, if, in their blindness they deify the author of these changes, and implore him in their inartificial religious ceremonies to bless their exertions and render fruitful their crops. In the midst of that sea, from the shores of which the youthful king of Macedon turned with de-



light at the thought that there remained no more food for his conquering sword, we behold, in this the nineteenth century, a man achieving by his own untiring zeal and judgment, a moral victory far more important than any of those with which the son of Philip was flushed. The compact and well-trained Macedonian phalanx overcame the enfeebled myrmidons of a worn-out dynasty, and a huge kingdom was established on its ruins, which itself fell to pieces when the mighty atlas, on whose shoulders it rested, died on the banks of the Euphrates, the victim of intemperance and sensuality. That prince was a successful warrior, but what says the historian of his career?

"He had no notion of true glory. He did not know either the principle, the rule, or the end of it. He placed it where it certainly was not. The common error was that which he adopted and cherished. He fancied himself born merely for glory: and that none could be acquired but by unbounded, unjust, and irregular contests. In his impetuous sallies after a mistaken glory, he followed neither reason, virtue, nor humanity; and as if his ambitious caprice ought to have been a rule and standard to all other men, he was surprised that neither his officers nor soldiers would enter into his views, and lent themselves very unwillingly to support his ridiculous enterprises."

In such characters is the epitaph of Alexander, the so-called "Great," written by the French historian. Ours is a hero of a far different stamp and order of merit.

The deeds of Mr. Brooke are of an order to command respect and admiration, not only by reason of their rare excellence and perfect success, but of the perfectly modest and humble spirit in which he speaks of them and of himself.

In the interesting work of Captain Keppel, we have the man himself remarking, in the journal which he placed at the disposal of that gallant author, that "Praise before performance is disgusting," and "passing over in silence his motives for undertaking so long and arduous a voyage" as that in connection with which his name will be handed down to posterity with that of Raffles. Those motives, however, are thus described by a mutual friend, in giving a brief account of the subject of these remarks, and of his "extraordinary career," to Captain Keppel.

"In this voyage," says his friend, "while going up the Chinese seas, he saw for the first time the Islands of the Asiatic Archi-



pelago, islands of vast importance and unparalleled beauty, lying neglected and almost unknown. He enquired and read, and became convinced that Borneo and the Eastern Isles afforded an open field for enterprise and research. To carry to the Malay races, so long the terror of the European merchant-vessel, the blessings of civilization, to suppress piracy and extirpate the slave trade, became his humane and generous objects, and from that time the energies of his powerful mind were directed to this one pursuit. Often foiled, often disappointed, with a perseverance and enthusiasm which defied all obstacle, he was not, until 1838, enabled to set sail for England on his darling project. The intervening years had been devoted to preparation and enquiry; a year spent in the Mediterranean had tested his vessel, the *Royalist*, and his crew, (Mr. Brooke himself says, 'I was nearly three years in preparing a crew to my mind,') and so completely had he studied his subject and calculated on contingencies, that the least sanguine of his friends felt as he left the shore, hazardous and unusual as the enterprise appeared to be, that he had omitted nothing to ensure a successful issue. 'I go,' said he, 'to awake the spirit of slumbering philanthropy with regard to these Islands; to carry Sir Stamford Raffles' views in Java over the whole Archipelago. Fortune and life I give freely; and if I fail in the attempt, I shall not have lived wholly in vain.'

The sentiments here attributed to Mr. Brooke exactly coincide with those which breathe through his communication to the Geographical Society in 1838, on the subject of his then proposed expedition. Having introduced the subject by an enumeration of "lands and seas, mere names, with no specific ideas attached to them," he thus proceeds:

"Imagination whispers to ambition that there are yet lands unknown which might be discovered. Tell me, would not a man's life be well spent? tell me, would it not be well sacrificed in an endeavour to explore these regions?"

With so noble and enlightened an example before his eyes as Sir Stamford Raffles, well might Mr. Brooke sigh for an opportunity of carrying out his views after he had made himself acquainted with the surface of the Archipelago. This task, albeit too great for private enterprise, he determined to undertake, trusting to the support of his nation after he should have succeeded in recalling its attention to scenes and themes which had faded from its memory when Sir Stamford Raffles passed from this world, and no one remained by whom his mantle could be borne.

This dull and sluggish state of the public mind, aye, and of the government, was strongly attacked in the paper to which we have alluded, while the sickly sentimentalities to which the would-be philanthropists of England are but too apt to sacrifice more substantial objects, were severely cut and deservedly exposed and satirised by this man of deed, not word. Throughout this composition there is a happy admixture of banter and seriousness, of sober truth and biting irony, which was most applicable to the temper and fashion of the day. It is the happy boast of our vaunted constitution, that the meanest individual may rise by his own talents and industry to the highest honours of the state. But it is equally clear that the English, as a nation, are always absorbed in the pursuit of some one idea, and that many achieve greatness by "booing and booing" to that idea. In truth, if England be not ridden by one school or class of politicians, to the exclusion of all others, for the time being, she is not happy. In the Normans' time she was church ridden; then in the time of the Tudors she was king ridden; next she submitted to the sway of Puritanism and the straight-laced Ironsides, which she as readily threw off for the lascivious Stuart and his loosely dressed beauties. Then she was ridden to death by German mistresses, corrupt ministers, and a war party. Next in order came the Law, and when gentle Themis had picked her to the bone, the Saints seized upon her and hallooed her on against the horrors of the "middle passage," and the diabolical misdeeds of those who having been encouraged to "settle the plantations," had embarked millions in that trade which the saints enacted to be a felony. This reign held its onward course till the West Indian slaves were emancipated, and the apprentices converted into freemen one year before the stipulated period. To this circumstance it is that Mr. Brooke alludes, and certainly "the saints" had it all their own way then—to partake of slave-grown sugar was an abomination in the eyes of these honourable men; and they accordingly bought the right to eat free labour sugar at what the country is now inclined to think an ample price—for the saints have given way before the levelling and grinding power of the railway interest, and the "cheap market" cry. From Saints, it may be said, that England passed into the hands of Engineers, and verily they have riddled her poor old carcase, and so slashed and cut it up, that its once verdant surface now resem-

bles a piece of roast pork, with well defined and unmistakeable crackling thereon marked, and is so much disfigured, that sure we are, she can scarcely answer to the spirit stirring appellation, "Old England." What we would wish to know, would Mr. Brooke now, in this year of grace 1848, say to the "fashion of the day," when we hear it proclaimed at Manchester, and in the House of Commons, by Ministers and Saints combined, that slave-grown sugar pays as good a tax as free-grown sugar, and that being cheaper of the two to the consumer, it would be a hideous principle to add one penny to the cost of a pound weight for the mere sake of having the latter. In fact, they say, as has been said by the poet of the rose—sugar is sugar, and money is money—we want both, and they will taste and smell quite as sweet whether they spring from labour enforced by the lash and the blood-hound of Cuba and Brazil, or from the voluntary condensation of our emancipated brethren of the Antilles. Here we see that the Saints are quite thrown overboard, or we should say, their principles have been abandoned, for candour and truth impel us to admit that the Saints of that day, and the sinners of to-day, are pretty nearly identical. Political consistency is not now the order of the day among some statesmen: expediency and cheap markets are every thing in the House; and it is not to be wondered at that the nation should partake of the prevailing fashion in that assembly, and attempt to ride its hobby in two different directions at one and the same time. With one tongue the modern Janus cries out, "down with slavery—mind not the cost—give us free labour;" while with the other he shrieks out with desperate energy, "give us sugar any how and any where—and down with protection." In truth, the ruling passion of the day is, as we have before remarked, "cheapness and expediency," and "young England" blushes not to enter that huge pawnbroker's shop whereout are hung these two tempting signs, and there to pledge all things that once were held sacred and were looked upon as heir-looms by the founders of his mighty race. We have, however, been led astray, and return from this digression to Mr. Brooke.

The specific object proposed to himself in this expedition, was the examination of the north end of Borneo, (a spot which was selected by reason of its being a British possession; though then deserted by the East India Com-

pany, to whom it had been granted by the Sultan of Sooloo,) its rivers, lakes, productions, and inhabitants; but on the arrival of Mr. Brooke at Singapore, he was induced to modify his plan of operations, and that which was originated as the exploring expedition of an ardent admirer of nature, was promptly converted into a mission of philanthropy and civilization to Sarawak, then the residence of the rajah Muda Hassim, the uncle of Omar Ali, the Sultan of Borneo Proper, who had been summoned to that part of the Sultan's possessions to suppress a rebellion caused by the oppression practised by the Pangerans, or chiefs, who are Malays, on the aboriginal inhabitants, who may be classed under the general appellation of Dyaks. The first ceremonies being dispatched, the rajah and Mr. Brooke grew somewhat intimate; visits and presents were exchanged, and permission being granted, various expeditions up the rivers were made by the latter, who having satisfied himself that the resources of this hitherto unknown region were all but illimitable, and having acquired a deep interest in the fate of the suffering Hill Dyaks, established a treaty of commerce with the Rajah, which by degrees ripened into a league offensive and defensive, and terminated in the cession of Sarawak to Mr. Brooke after a protracted negotiation with the Sultan and his chiefs, who thwarted the benevolent designs of our countryman at every step, and only yielded at last to the *ultima ratio* of nations. The acquisition of this territory and dignity, however, by Mr. Brooke, was altogether unsought for on his part. Tired of the war, and sick of the cares of governing a distracted province, the Rajah voluntarily offered to Mr. Brooke the country of Siniawan and Sarawak, and its government and trade, if he would but remain and protect him against the rebels.

"I could at once have obtained this grant," observes Mr. Brooke, "but I preferred interposing a delay; because, to accept such a boon, when imposed by necessity, or from a feeling of gratitude for recent assistance, would have rendered it both suspicious and useless; and I was by no means eager to enter on the task, (the full difficulties of which I clearly foresaw) without the undoubted and spontaneous support of the Rajah."

It would be easy to multiply proofs of Mr. Brooke's honesty of purpose in his transactions with Muda Hassim if time permitted, but the most cursory perusal of the

various volumes with which the press has teemed of late, will satisfy the reader that we have not formed too exalted an opinion of this great man's character, and to them we must refer all who would seek to be instructed or amused, for each and all have their merits and would repay attentive perusal.

As might be expected, the first acts of the new governor of Sarawak were such as were admirably calculated to restore peace to the distracted province, lately the scene of oppression and rebellion. Justice was administered by Mr. Brooke in person, assisted by Muda Hassim and his sons, in a style which confounded the grasping Pangerans, it being for the first time asserted that a Dyak had any right to defend, or any heart to feel a wrong.

Internal quiet having been secured by equal laws, Mr. Brooke turned his attention to the threatening aspect of his neighbours, the inhabitants of the rivers Sakarran and Sarebus, who were notorious pirates, and gave out that they intended to pay a visit to the Sarawak and carry off the head of the new Rajah, for the especial reception of which one chief had very kindly hung up in a tree a basket, a large collection of heads from the victims of their predatory excursions being the greatest honour known among these worthies, as may be gathered from the following account by Mr. Low, of an interview granted to a Sakarran chief who came on a visit to the Governor, to enter into an agreement offensive and defensive.

"To this treaty I was obliged to add the stipulation, that he was neither to pirate by sea or by land, and not to go under any pretence into the interior of the country." His shrewdness and cunning were remarkably displayed. He began by inquiring if a tribe, either Sakarran or Sarebus, pirated on my territory, what I intended to do. My answer was, "To enter their country and lay it waste." But he asked me again, "You will give me, your friend, leave to steal a few heads occasionally?" "No," I replied, "you cannot take a single head, you cannot enter the country; and if you or your countrymen do, I will have a hundred Sakarran heads for every one you take here." He recurred to this request several times, "just to steal one or two," as a school-boy would ask for apples. When it is considered that "the two tribes, Sakarran and Sarebus, are greatly addicted to head hunting, and that the passport to the smiles of the fair sex was a string of heads, one being

an absolute *sine qua non* on such occasions, it was well to make a stand *in limine* against head hunting as well as piracy. In a short time Mr. Brooke deemed it prudent to take decided steps to extirpate these hornets' nests, and he accordingly repaired to Singapore, where he had the good fortune to fall in with Capt. Keppel, whose vessel, the "Dido," had been ordered to the Archipelago at the close of the hostilities in China, to protect trade and suppress piracy. Mr. Brooke soon won the esteem and active co-operation of Capt. Keppel, and by his gallant men the war was carried up the rivers to the forts and haunts of the pirates, who after a sound dose of grape and canister, betook themselves to the jungle, and were so thoroughly discomfited, as that they became peaceable and harmless neighbours for the future. This great end effected, two others of vital importance remained, and to accomplish these, Mr. Brooke next set himself to work. The first was to open a personal communication with the Sultan at Bruni, and to obtain from him a formal promise of co-operation for the extinction of piracy and oppression; and the second, the actual cession of Sarawak to Mr. Brooke, and of the Island of Labuh-an to the English government, with whom Mr. Brooke had been unceasing in his attempts to identify himself. It was very clear that, with the vast trade which was expected from the opening of the Chinese ports, an intermediate station between Singapore and Hong Kong was an indispensable necessity, if the trade were alike facilitated and protected. The necessity of such a position had long been recognised, and formerly the East India Company had a settlement on the island of Balambangan; but "something ailed the spot." It never thrived, and was surprised in 1771 by the Sooloos, since which time our ships have been trespassers on those seas. Mr. Brooke's judgment soon led him to the conclusion that some resting-place was absolutely wanted in those seas, and after weighing well the subject, and halting between the former settlement, which, though somewhat unhealthy, was admirably situated, he gave a sound preference, in conjunction with Mr. Crawford, the late governor of Singapore, and others, to the Island of Labuh-an, situate on the mouth of the Borneo river, and capable, from its size and situation, of being made a most eligible station, whether as an entreport for trade, a refuge for disabled ships, or in a military point of view in time of war. A



closer examination satisfied our indefatigable countryman, that this island abounded in the finest coal beds lying close to the surface; and as a scheme for carrying on the postal communication direct to Hong Kong, had been submitted to the government by Mr. Wise, and adopted by them, it required little art to sanction the selection, and to carry out Mr. Brooke's views. By this time the government had been roused to some knowledge both of Mr. Brooke's existence and his service to the state. All that was wanting for the successful prosecution of his enlightened views of civilization, was the open and sincere countenance of his nation; and he received that in the appointment of confidential agent in Borneo. This Mr. Brooke considered, and justly, as "the first wedge" which was to rive Borneo open, and to bestow commerce, and civilization, and happiness on its inhabitants; and in a short time after, Labuh-an was selected, and finally ceded to England. To this great end Mr. Brooke's first friend, Muda Hassim, was warmly instrumental; but he did not long survive his interference. It is now but too well known that he fell a victim to the jealousy and intrigues which always beset the path of civilization in an eastern land; and though his murder has been amply avenged, and the most abject and satisfactory promises of amendment made by the repentant sultan, we should think that the British government is too well aware of the value of such protestations to allow itself to be thrown off its guard. Our position at the mouth of the great artery of his kingdom, places him entirely at our command, and as there will doubtless be an effective steam squadron stationed at Labuh-an, we shall be enabled to control both the sultan and his subjects without much more trouble; while it is far more probable that by our propinquity a wonderful improvement will speedily be effected in their internal and social condition.

Much, to Mr. Brooke's honour, has already been effected, and it cannot be doubted but that the same wisdom which has hitherto guided the Rajah in his arduous undertaking, will follow him in the discharge of the onerous duties to which that undertaking has so unexpectedly led. He now governs a fair, a rich, and a beautiful province. Larger than most of our English counties, Sarawak possesses a sea-coast of seventy geographical miles, and an average depth of seventy or eighty. This tract is rich in nature's most cherished gifts; and like the soil of the great Island

of which it forms so insignificant a portion, it yields to no other spot in the world in capability for improvement. That we have the utmost confidence in Mr. Brooke's judgment, we need not repeat. It is shared by all who have witnessed his career, and have known the man. His abilities, perseverance, and public spirit, are confessed on all hands, and that there are materials amply sufficient for the display of all his powers, few will doubt, after a perusal of the various works, a list of which is prefixed to these observations, and at the head of which stands the practical and unpretending volume of Mr. Low, and the narrative of Capt. Keppel, from which we have largely drawn. After the acquisition of Sarawak, Mr. Low became attached to Mr. Brooke, and his mission would seem to have been that of secretary and naturalist, and in the prosecution of his duties, he has amassed a considerable store of information highly interesting as well as necessary respecting the population of Borneo, its various kingdoms and tribes, its aboriginal inhabitants, and the manners and customs of those in particular which are connected with Sarawak. In giving to the world the benefit of their varied adventures and observations, the gallant and learned authors, now on our table, have earned for themselves the highest meed of approbation, for they have thereby rendered essential service to the cause in which Mr. Brooke has laboured with such effect. Those who contribute even in the slightest degree to introduce to the English public the history of the eastern Archipelago, and above all those peculiar traits and features in the Land Dyak tribes which first won the admiration of Mr. Brooke, and then inspired him to their emancipation, will have conferred a great and lasting boon on the objects of that admiration; for they cannot but animate all England as one man in their cause, while we learn the success which has attended the efforts of Mr. Brooke to reform and civilize them. The effects of a change from anarchy and oppression to peace and justice have followed close upon their causes. When Mr. Brooke took possession of Sarawak, the town numbered but fifteen hundred souls; and when he quitted it to visit England, there were eight thousand inhabitants, and a busy thriving population they were. Exactions have been abolished; taxation is regular, and consistent, and even-handed, like justice. The "Nakodahs," or merchants, now boast their wealth, while formerly they were afraid to have it known

they possessed money. Improvements are going on in the houses and roads about the town, and it may fairly be prognosticated that Mr. Brooke will, on his return to his adopted country, with his gallant friend Capt. Keppel, find things in a very advanced condition.

To those who take an especial interest in the inquiry into the primitive population of the East, the work of Mr. Low will prove a great treasure. To us, however, it must be confessed, that the pleasure is greater of discussing what a nation is, than of ascertaining an indifferent fact on indifferent data with reference to its origin. We would "let bygones be bygones;" it is a more exhilarating task to us to follow and coincide with our author in his vindication of the Malays of Borneo and Sarawak in particular, from the foul sin of active participation in piracy, than to assist in the determination of the question, "From which of the sons of Noah are the Malays and Dyaks descended?" We are more interested when discussing the propriety of drawing closer the bonds of social intercourse with a vast and comparatively unknown race of men, to ascertain the present inclination of their habits and pursuits, than to trouble ourselves with any inquiry after their genealogical tree. We are a practical nation, and would like to fix the *terminus ad quem* rather than the *terminus a quo* of such folks. Their *unde derivatur* is of no possible consequence to us, who only seek to know how best we can benefit them, while we at the same time give an impulse to our proverbial shopkeeping propensities. It delights us, therefore, to feel that the Malays have been rather maligned than otherwise on the subject of piracy. Mr. Brooke, indeed, says that "the Borneons both practise and suffer piracy, and there is no doubt they have been its active, while now they are its passive agent." As a nation, they have certainly acquired a bad name, Malay and pirate being all but convertible terms, and being certainly always used in conjunction. Ever since the loss of the *Alceste*, when the crew of that ill-fated vessel made so gallant a stand against the pirates under Sir Murray Maxwell, a Malay has been looked upon as a fierce and ruthless savage; but Mr. Low exonerates some of them from that reproach.

"The Malays, natives of the western coast of Borneo, do not practise many of the vices for which their nation in general has become so famous. In their character they are a mild and quiet people, devoid of the cunning and treachery of the natives of

Sumatra, whom the dissolute inhabitants of the capital more nearly resemble. They are not, like the inhabitants of the piratical states, fond of desperate adventure, and not being possessed of a great share of physical courage, and their tastes inclining them to follow the more peaceful pursuits of trade, under a government which will encourage commerce, they live happy and contented."—p. 127.

It is however with nations as with men. Their "pleasant vices" do not quit them till satiety produces prostration, and decaying nature, with perplexing pertinacity, but haltingly essays the pranks of youth. Bruni is now a rotten state. In 1521, when visited by Pigafetta, the companion of Magellan, the capital numbered twenty-five thousand families, and everything connected with it bore marks of strength and durability. That state which was then strong enough to give to the whole island its name of Borneo, though there were several independent kingdoms in it, has gradually fallen from its high estate, and it may have become desperately virtuous in its old age, and even be at times the palsied victim of younger scoundrels. Certainly the situation chosen for the site of Bruni would augur a piratical origin; and it would seem to be more Venetian in one particular than Venice herself, from the following lively account of itself and its amphibious market, which we take from Mr. Low.

"The houses in all parts of Borneo are built upon posts generally about four or five feet from the ground, but sometimes more: the object of this originally was for the purpose of health, and as a means of preservation from noxious reptiles, and in some instances, hereafter to be described, as a protection against their enemies. The towns are always situated on the banks of rivers, and such low places are often chosen as are overflowed by the tide; perhaps these spots have been fixed upon that the water might cleanse the impurities which are frequently allowed to accumulate beneath their residences. Borneo and Kalekka are the only two towns which I have seen built entirely in the water, the whole of the houses, with the exception of that of the sultan and one or two of the nobles, being built upon posts fixed in the mud banks of the river. That such situations should have been chosen is the more strange, as at low water a stench, which cannot be of a healthy nature, arises from the mud, which to an European, or stranger not accustomed to it, is very offensive; the natives of the town affirm that this does not affect their health. The river at the place where the town is situated is very wide, and receives the waters of the Sungie Kadyan, a tributary stream; the main river forms the

principal street of the town, and on it are situated the large houses of the nobles and princes.

"The houses are disposed with more regularity than in most Malayan towns, being intersected by water-lanes at right angles from the main water-street, so that the whole town is divided into a number of solid squares of houses, each of which communicates with one of the streets of the town."—pp. 151-2.

"The public market in Bruni presented an unique and interestingly novel appearance, being held upon the water by the women, who arrive every morning from the country with fruit, vegetables, and other articles for sale; the vendors are generally two or three in each boat, every one of them provided with a large hat made of palm-leaves, and of an umbrella shape, which serves to protect the whole person from either the sun or rain. They each have also a paddle, with which they manage their little canoes—which are almost level with the water's edge—with the greatest dexterity. Early in the morning the market boats assemble; first about the middle of the town; but floating up quietly with the sluggish tide, or down, if the water be ebbing; during the day, it is seen moving slowly in and out of the different streets with an occasional purchaser, who is making a bargain with a market woman separated from the rest, in the eagerness of trade having forgotten to direct her little boat in the same course as the others, but, the purchase completed, she soon joins the remainder, and is lost in the crowd. This fleet of market boats numbers generally from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, and the whole business transacted in them is conducted by women. It has generally entirely dispersed by noon."—pp. 152-3.

Setting aside the debauched natives of the capital, Mr. Low has formed rather a high estimate of the Malay character. He asserts "that the people of Sarawak and the west coast, generally possess none of the disgusting and cringing servility of the natives of Continental India; but their manners are distinguished for their politeness and freedom," and adds "that they no more deserve the epithet of 'treacherous' than would European nations in circumstances when, reduced by oppression, they could not revenge themselves by open and honest means." Thus much for their moral quality. In person, the Malay men are stated to be under the average European stature; but are finely formed, well made, and capable of excessive fatigue. And as for the fair sex, our author remarks, that

"They are generally short in stature, but of the most beautiful symmetrical figures, and their long and slender fingers, with the

small and pretty hands, wrists, feet, and ankles, are seldom seen amongst the western fair ones in any thing approaching such perfection. Their long black hair, which falls on their backs in the greatest profusion, and in many cases reaches nearly to the ground, has, if we may believe the reports of the vendors of oils and unguents said to be used by them, been long the envy of the ladies of the west."—p. 141.

But we grieve to say that his observation warrants the conclusion, that the ladies of Borneo, "like their sex in general," are fond of fine clothes and jewellery, and their extravagance is the frequent cause of unpleasantness between them and their husbands.

In order, however, to make amends for the sly hint above dropped, regarding the failings of the sex, Mr. Low imparts quite confidentially his information on the subject of the *toilette*. Bearing in mind no doubt the sacrilegious couplet:—

In virtues nothing earthly could surpass her,  
Save thine incomparable oil, Macassar,

Mr. Low, as in duty bound to the ladies of Britain, dilates with considerable *unction* (we speak in all earnestness) "on the greatest ornament of woman," and the oils to which the Malay beauties resort in order to encourage the growth of their "tresses unconfined." It seems, after all, that the only oil they use is one freshly expressed from the cocoa nut, which

"is perfumed by allowing the flowers of the various plants, previously mentioned as being used in the adornment of their hair, to remain for some time in it, the fat oil of the nut extracting and retaining the essential oil of the fragrant flowers."—p. 145.

Nature, however, carries off the palm here, as elsewhere, for Mr. Low says:

"But it is probable that the luxuriance of the hair of the women of these countries is, in a great measure, constitutional; although it cannot be denied that they take the greatest possible care of it, and pride themselves on its profusion. Should it be falling from weakness, many superstitious practices are resorted to for the purpose of preventing it: in these cases the fat extracted from venomous snakes and of crocodiles is foolishly considered very efficacious."—p. 146.

And then he silyly adds, for the benefit of all our own  
"True fits:"



"Perhaps the vendor of the next oil purporting to be that used by the natives of the Indian islands may profit by the above remarks, and recommend to the ladies of Europe the fat of snakes and crocodiles instead of bears and other animals; it may be remarked, however, that that which the old women who recommend its use to the young girls in Sarawak sell to them, is seldom the fat of those animals, but usually some vegetable oil, which is made to answer the purpose, snakes and aligators being more difficult to obtain."—p. 146.

It thus appears that "human natur," as the Trapper has it, is "human natur" all over the world. No matter whether we are in Paris or Borneo, in London or Sarawak, we fear that there are tricks in all trades, and as we have long since been accustomed to shake our incredulous heads at the announcement that "another fine young bear has just been slaughtered" in St. Giles'; so we suppose that the Malay Beaux and Belles are "up to snuff," touching the fat of crocodiles and snakes.

We are warned however to desert these delicate subjects by time, that great devourer of all things,—both male and female, and passing from the Malays to the Dyaks and Kyans, we come to, perhaps, the most interesting features in the Island of Borneo, as it is to the interest excited in Mr. Brooke's heart by the virtues of the Hill Dyaks, and the vices of the Sea Dyaks, that we owe the publication of the various works now before us on the subject of the Eastern Archipelago. The distinctive characteristics of these various tribes are given in each and all of these works, among other matters, which we have not even space to do more than to allude by way of parenthesis, with great general uniformity both of fact and opinion. While the account of Mr. Low is invaluable, as the production of an actual observer: we cannot refrain from expressing the unbounded admiration we entertain for the spirited and dazzling style of Mr. Marryatt, the numerous illustrations to whose volumes are so life-like, and so well executed artistically, as to call for the critic's most earnest approbation. There is one subject, however, in this youngster's work, which we would fain have missed; we need scarcely say, that we allude to the constant and determined writing down of his superior officer. "Frank Marryatt" is certainly no bad appellation for so plain-spoken an author; and if he be but as plain spoken a *middy*, we should say that there would be but little subordination on board a British man-of-

war, where, of all places in the world, it is necessary that one, and one alone, should command. While these observations were awaiting the press, Sir Edward Belcher's "Narrative of the Voyage of the Samarang" has issued to the world, and we regret that a cursory glance at his work has not afforded us an opportunity of now doing that justice to the gallant author which his talents and professional reputation demand at our hands. Certain we are, that the prosecution of a practical surveying voyage cannot be charged with so much amusement and relaxation, as a cruise after pirates with Mr. Brooke and the "gallant Didos" under Capt. Keppel must have been; but even on this score Mr. Marryatt had no reason to complain, for Sir Edward Belcher, according to his own confession, diversified the search for soundings more than once by hunting down some pirates. It is not, however, our cue now to offer any opinion upon the complaints with which Mr. Marryatt's otherwise interesting work teems; and we gladly refer the reader to the many far more pleasurable topics with which his sumptuous volumes abound.

Dismissing, then, both Sir Ed. Belcher and Mr. Marryatt, we would direct the attention of the reader to the aborigines of Borneo, who are divided in substance into Sea Dyaks, Hill Dyaks, and Kyans, of which latter little is known. The Sea Dyaks, as their name imports, are given to piracy, and occupy the countries lying in the interior of the rivers Sakarran and Sarebus, with their numerous and large branches, where, till the Dido routed them out, they carried on a thriving piratical trade. This body of men is subdivided into numerous tribes, taking their distinctive appellation from the rivers over which they exercise some dominion. Many of these belong to Sarawak, all approach to its confines, and, together with the Land or Hill Dyaks, who are a rural race and form the bulk of the Rajah's population, have been more immediately brought under the notice of Mr. Low, who, drawing his experience from excursions in the country, presents us with a most interesting account of these people, their habitations, dress, and domestic habits, which we have only time and space to notice very briefly, promising the reader great store of instruction and amusement if he will peruse at his leisure those chapters in all these works which refer to these subjects. Though their ordinary attire is characterised by a simplicity bordering on that in which Nature ar-

rays her sons, yet when the Dyaks array themselves as a "war party," their love of finery manifests itself in a preposterous abundance of brass ornaments, and of rings in their ears.

"The whole number contained in each ear of the Dyak varies from six or eight to fourteen, and in young men, occasionally to eighteen; these gradually decrease in size towards the top of the ear, where they are very small."—p. 178.

Among the peculiarities which our author detailed in his intercourse with, and gleanings concerning the Sea Dyaks, may be ranked their laxity of morals, the intercourse between the unmarried of the two sexes being utterly unrestrained and promiscuous; as soon, however, as the lady "falls into that state in which all ladies wish to be who love their lords," as it is expressed in rather a roundabout way in England, the lover is compelled to marry her, and after marriage faithlessness is almost unknown.

This state of things, however, is not confined to Borneo; we are grieved to assert that the account thus given of the social and moral condition of the Dyaks is not without its parallel at home. There is nothing new under the sun, for "*Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.*" The experience of untravelled Englishmen, and the researches preliminary to the new Poor Law, may testify that the promiscuous intercourse of the Sakarran Dyaks is but the "keeping company" of the English rustics, the former having, perhaps, the advantage in the compulsory ceremony, which, in the case of the latter, comes slowly and haltingly behind the rest of the affair.

The most distinguishing trait in the Dyak, however, is his admiration of a captured head, to which allusion has already been made. The ceremony observed by these ferocious savages at the return of a war party from a successful inroad, laden with the heads of their enemies, is well described by Mr. Low, p. 207.

"The head, for months after its arrival, is treated with the greatest consideration, and all the names and terms of endearment of which their language is capable are abundantly lavished on it: the most dainty morsels, culled from their abundant though inelegant repast, is thrust into its mouth, and it is instructed to hate its former friends, and that, having been now adopted into the tribe of its captors, its spirit must be always with them: sirih leaves and betel-nut are given to it,—and finally, a cigar is frequently placed

between its ghastly and pallid lips. None of this disgusting mockery is performed with the intention of ridicule, but all to propitiate the spirit by kindness, and to procure its good wishes for the tribe, of whom it is now supposed to have become a member."

Of the heads thus taken, it seems that the rival tribes keep an exact account, and, as in Europe, the cry is "the Balance of Power," so the less advanced Dyak politicians strive for a "Balance of heads," a peculiarity which extends to a certain degree too among the more peaceful Hill Dyaks. When a peace is about to be brought about, the commissioners of either tribe state an account, as the lawyers say, but in heads, not money, and the party having won most heads in the game of war, "pays the difference," and then they start fresh and fair for a short time, males being estimated at 25 dollars, and females at from 15 to 20 per head. This done, a feast and dance concludes the war. Mr. Low, however, *naively* enough observes that the Sea Dyaks rarely adjust their differences, for if they paid honestly, they and their wives and children would not compensate their enemies for their lost heads. The heads so taken are most religiously kept by the Sea Dyaks as trophies, and belong to the captain, who, as does the Indian to the scalps in his wigwam, appeals to them as the warrant for his pretensions to the favours of the fair.

The Hill Dyaks, or men of the hills, differ materially in many respects from the Sea Dyaks, or men of the sea, and claim the sympathy of enlightened Europe as much from their virtues as their sufferings. They occupy the western portion of the Island, and are described as possessing a "grave and quiet expression of countenance, which gives to their features a melancholy and thoughtful air." They are, too, of a more amiable character than their neighbours, "Their morality is of a higher standard, their gratitude is undoubted, and their hospitality to strangers well ascertained." Again, "the licentious intercourse between the sexes is not permitted, and so strict are they in encouraging virtue among their children, that the young and unmarried men are not permitted to sleep in the houses of their parents after having attained the age of puberty, but occupy a large house of peculiar construction, which is set apart for their use in the village," and is afterwards fully described under the name of the Panjah. These inoffensive people neither practice slavery nor

piracy, and crime is so rare that punishments are purely traditional—while the custom of head taking is not so deeply rooted in their habits as to prevent the hope of its being easily eradicated. With them the heads are the public property of the tribe, and as such are suspended in the Panjah, which Captain Keppel not inappropriately terms the “skullery.”

With this brief account of these interesting, and hitherto unprotected people we must be fain to close our notice of Mr. Brooke and of the valuable works to which his enterprise has given existence. Had it not been for the determined spirit which animated the captain of the Royalist we should not now have known more of Borneo and the Eastern Archipelago than we knew at the close of Sir Stamford Raffles brief but vigorous career. Still less should we have heard of the poor Hill Dyaks of Sarawak, had chance not directed Mr. Brooke's vessel to that remote quarter of Borneo.

Oppressed and reduced to a state of abject slavery ever since the Malays discovered the value of the antimony ore in Sarawak, these tribes have been ground to the dust by the piratical incursions of the Sakarran and Sarebus from without, and the unceasing exactions of the Malay Pangerans from within. A new day has happily dawned on them. If there can be any confidence in man, we may safely predict for them a continuance of the inestimable blessings with which their path has been recently strewed by their European Protector. In number about 12,000, they form a body of men by whom the peaceful cultivation of the fair province entrusted to his care may be carried on with great success and advantage, while their vague notions of religion present a cheering field for the misionary; when once the foundation has been laid for the diffusion of Christianity by their enlightened ruler by education, the good work will doubtless be speedily followed up on more sides than one. Political economists and drivers of “Devil's Dust” may but look to the mighty rivers of Borneo as so many inlets for British enterprise and commerce. We will hope that they may prove the highways of far more important interests than those of the cotton lords. What the entire population of Borneo may be, must of course remain for some time a mere matter of speculation. We know enough, however, to affirm that millions of human beings there lie immersed in worse than

Cimmerian darkness. Mere ignorance would be bliss compared to the actual and positive vices which beset the Malayan population, as well as the Kyan and Sea Dyaks—among them the work of reformation and civilization must needs be gradual and perhaps painful, but with the Hill people there is now about to be laid open a vast field for missionary labour, and commencing with Sarawak we doubt not but that under the judicious control of Mr. Brooke, the holy men so engaged will steer clear of the rocks on which the Polynesian mission has so lamentably split. They will at least start on equal terms with European vices, and protected by political institutions devised by a man as well qualified to frame as to administer laws adapted to the habits of the people whose destiny has been so wondrously committed to his care, the missionary of Sarawak will doubtless render a good account of his high stewardship.

The Rajah has now quitted this country for the seat of his government, together with Mr. Low and various officers despatched by government to Labuh-an. Again has he fallen into the company of Captain Keppel who resumes his station and service in a vessel well adapted for that station and service. How proud must have been the swelling heart of Mr. Brooke as he stepped the deck of the *Meander*! how grateful that under the hands of an all-wise Providence he should have been made the instrument of so much good! The *Royalist* sailed on an adventurous enterprise, unnoticed save by a few admiring friends, and a few short years only had elapsed ere admiring and grateful England hailed her owner as the fitting object of her thanks. He now paces the deck of a British man-of-war, destined to a public mission and a cause which owe their origin entirely to his energy and judgment. Backed by his country it is impossible to assign limits to the reformation which may spring from these small levers Labuh-an and Sarawak. On one hand there lies before the Rajah the task of civilization and conversion—on the other the path of Keppel opens on the suppression and eradication of piracy. From both combined there cannot but accrue the greatest possible advantage and gain, as well social and political as commercial, to England and to Borneo alike, and to each and all of those good men and true who have set their hands to this great and holy work we heartily wish “God speed.”



ART. III.—*An Englishwoman in America.* By SARAH MYTTON MAURY. Authoress of "The Statesmen of America in 1846." London, Dublin, and Derby: Thomas Richardson and Son, Liverpool: George Smith, Watts and Co., 1848.

THIS is a true woman's book—in sentiment, in feeling, in opinion, in judgment, and in the mode and manner to which expression is given to evanescent impressions, and to settled convictions. We intend this observation as the highest praise that it is in our power to bestow; for having travelled a little and read much, we have come to the conclusion, that a clever woman, who has been exposed to perils on the ocean and the shore, and who has encountered those of whom it may with perfect truth be said, that "there be land-rats and water-rats," is beyond all others the best calculated to give to her readers a clear, distinct, and life-like impression of what she has seen and what she has heard. The eye of a woman—of a good housewife—is practised in the observation of the most minute details; it sees a flaw, detects an omission, and lights at once upon a defect in the regulations of home, not because it is wished to find fault, but because there is the honest, womanly will, that all should tend to the comforts of him who is the master of the household, and of those who are, in her eyes, its blessing and its happiness. The mind of woman is, out of these minutiae, always constructing a scene—it is watchful and provident, and hence, when she becomes a traveller, she has every incident in its completeness before her, and whatever she so observes she can transmit by a thousand delicate traits to paper, so as to make all who peruse her pages her *compagnions de voyage*.

Englishwomen have of late years proved that they are the best writers of travels; and we do not know that we could afford stronger instances of their superiority in this department of literature, than by referring to "Letters from the Baltic, by a lady," "Letters from Spain, by X. Y. Z.," and the present work by Mrs. Maury. These ladies observe so closely, that some of their portraiture of manners, men, and scenery, are like to the works of Benevento Cellini—charming, because they are so spirited

and so life-like; admirable, because of the exquisite beauty and finish even in their most minute details.

"An Englishwoman in America" is, however, not merely deserving of perusal because of the cleverness with which it is written. Its author has a higher claim upon our attention and respect. She has laboured with a woman's zeal and a woman's heart in a great work of charity; and she has done much in mitigating the miseries to which the unhappy emigrants have been exposed, who have travelled from Ireland, England, and Scotland, to America and to Canada without a medical person on board.

Never in the annals of the world was there so terrible an emigration as that which took place from the United Kingdom in the years 1846 and 1847. The horrors of the retreat of the French army from Moscow were as nothing compared with what must have occurred in those moving lazaret-houses of the ocean, the emigrant ships which carried away, unaided and untended by a single physician, the myriads who fled from famine in Ireland to perish by the slow fires of a wasting pestilence on their voyage to America.\* That evil which men in office should have prevented—that evil which men of science must have foreseen—that evil which men of all classes doggedly allowed to work out its ends unimpeded; a woman—and that woman, to her honour be it said, Mrs. Maury—did her utmost to prevent—and has, we believe and trust, been able to shame the

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\* Out of 106,000 emigrants who, during the last twelve months, crossed the Atlantic for Canada and New Brunswick, 6,100 perished on the voyage, 4,100 on their arrival, 5,200 in the hospitals, and 1,900 in the towns to which they repaired. The total mortality was no less than 17 per cent. of the total number emigrating—the number of deaths being 17,300.—*Mr. Labouchere's statement, House of Commons, Friday, Feb. 11th, 1848.*

"From Grosse Island, the great charnel-house of victimised humanity, up to Port Sarnia, and along the borders of our magnificent river upon the shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie, wherever the tide of emigration has extended, are to be found the final resting places of the sons and daughters of Erin—one unbroken chain of graves, where repose fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, in one commingled heap, without a tear bedewing the soil, or a stone marking the spot. Twenty thousand and upwards have gone down to their graves!"—*Report of the Montreal Emigrant Society for 1847.—Montreal Herald, January 15th, 1848.*

authorities into the adoption of such measures as will for the future save suffering humanity from the recurrence of such awful calamities.

We know of no species of reading so interesting as that which comes from persons who have proved their love for God and man by seeking to ameliorate the condition, and mitigating the miseries of the poor, the humble, and the helpless. Mrs. Maury has proved herself to be one of those persons; and therefore, in describing her efforts in the holy cause of charity, we adopt a course which is merely honest as respects herself, and that cannot but serve to attract that attention to her work which its own merits will be found to justify most fully.

Fortunately for the sake of suffering humanity, Mrs. Maury with her son undertook a voyage to America in an emigrant ship. There were not less than three hundred and ninety-seven steerage passengers on board. No medical person was appointed to attend the passengers, for neither American nor English Governments had, up to that time—the year 1845—deemed such a precaution to be necessary; and yet such was the dire condition of the steerage passengers, that Mrs. Maury was not permitted to visit the place in which they were huddled together.

"Of the actual condition," says Mrs. Maury, "of the between decks, I cannot speak, but have often heard Dr. Fraser express the loathing which he felt on visiting his patients there; and when the skylight of the saloon was opened to give air below, *the effluvia was such as to compel me in all weathers to go on deck.*"—p. 6.

And yet this was one of the most superior of the emigrant ships, abundantly supplied both with water and provisions.

On the voyage outwards it was discovered that there was a medical person on board—a Dr. Fraser, who was there as a passenger. Sickness, and worst of all, that frightful plague, the small-pox, broke out amongst the steerage passengers. Two of the children fell victims to it; and Mrs. Maury and her son were both infected by it. Had there been no surgeon on board this vessel, it is impossible to calculate the amount of mortality that must have inevitably occurred.

"It had frequently occurred to me," Mrs. Maury remarks, "during these scenes, that there should have been a regular surgeon on board the *Hottinguer* attached to the ship; for, unless Dr. Fraser

had been accidentally on board, I cannot conceive the amount of misery which must have ensued. He was employed without intermission the whole of the day with patients in the steerage, and with the ship's crew; and he told me that he was called every night three or four times. \* \* \*

"These various circumstances fully convinced me that every ship carrying passengers should be provided with a medical man; and to assure myself that such was not the case, I asked Captain Bursley to show me the Passengers Book. I looked through it again and again in search of some regulation to this effect—but nothing of the kind, nor in any way alluding to the subject could be discovered. I asked the Captain, who said there was no such regulation existing. I then resolved in my own mind, to expose, so far as I could, this hideous grievance, and if it lay in the power of so humble a member of society as myself, to obtain some provision in the way of medical assistance for the suffering emigrants."—pp. 48, 49.

This resolution Mrs. Maury carried into effect. A full account of her toils, her travels, her writings, and her interviews with various official persons, is given in an appendix to her work, entitled "*The Emigrants' Surgeon's Bill.*" We commend its perusal to our readers, whilst we are compelled to confine ourselves to the following abstract of its contents:—

"Upon recovering her strength, Mrs. Maury lost no time in putting her design into execution, and proceeding to Washington, upon the advice of the venerable Mrs. Madison, our heroine sought an interview with the President. This was readily granted, but as the President possessed no individual power to assist her views, a reference was made to the British Minister, to Mr. Buchanan, and to Mr. Walker, but with no satisfactory result, the attention of the government being otherwise occupied, and some of the shipowners not feeling inclined to favour the measure. Our authoress, however, still persevered. She resolved not to relax a single effort towards the accomplishment of her darling project; but after months of patient toil, of laborious and heroic persistence, of unsuspended activity in the prosecution of her cherished scheme, she had the mortification to find that all was unavailing, and that for reasons which, although she could not approve, she would not condemn, her plan was denied legislative adoption. Defeated in America (who, we must say, was, and still is more deeply affected by the consequences of pestilential emigrant-ships than England, except as regards deportation at the colonies,) her hopes were turned to England, to which country she was shortly to return, and with renewed purpose, she resolved to "agitate" the measure with the British Government. To England accordingly she came, and had

scarcely set foot on its soil, than she proceeded in person to London, and obtained an interview with the Secretary for the Home department. She was there politely referred to the Chief Commissioner at the colonial land and emigration office, to whom, as well as to the Secretary of State, she submitted proof irrefragable of the solemn duty, the moral and physical necessity, the mercy, the humanity, the natural and social constraint that existed for averting the horrors of pestilence on board emigrant vessels to North America by a legislative enactment; but she had the wretched satisfaction of having the truth and justice of all her representations coldly assented to, but without a single promise of government aid. Will it be believed that one of the pretexts for the refusal was, that a sufficient number of duly qualified surgeons (about 500 or 600) could not be procured in Great Britain to accept the appointment at a fair rate of remuneration? Nothing daunted, our authoress next essayed to bring the subject before parliament, and availing herself of the ready co-operation of a virtuous and humane nobleman, a member of the house, the attention of the government was again demanded, and although it was brought a second time by another noble lord under the notice of the house, and freely discussed, yet the government, without altogether rejecting, postponed its consideration indefinitely. *And all this time disease and death were ravaging the emigrant ships to North America.*

"It was distinctly shown upon the discussion, by medical testimony of the highest reputation in England, Ireland, and America, which Mrs. Maury had been at great labour to procure, that as many even as six or seven thousand duly qualified medical men could be found willing, for a moderate stipend, to engage in the proposed service. Dispirited, but not disheartened, our amiable authoress returned to Liverpool with no chance of success left but by the potent arm of the press. The co-advocacy of the press she claimed, and it was granted. It is not, however, necessary to relate how powerfully the cause of neglected humanity was pleaded: suffice it to say, that, in less than one month, public sympathy and public alarm were aroused, shipowners were startled into a sense of both their danger and their interest, and the *first earnest step was taken*. One eminent firm quickly advertised for a surgeon, another followed, still the number increased; and we believe that so gallantly has the cause advanced, that no emigrant ship is leaving Liverpool at the present moment for North America without a medical officer! We need not add our humble tribute to the innumerable and well-merited congratulations which the noble and indomitable, but triumphant benefactress of the forlorn emigrant has had showered upon her."\*

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\* *Charles Wilmer's European Mail*, Feb. 12th, 1848. See also *Debates on Passengers' Navigation Bill* in house of Commons, Feb. 21st, 1848, and Feb. 24th, 1848. It was in the latter debate, that

The individual who has thus laboured and thus struggled, thus toiled and thus achieved a triumph, is the authoress of the work which we are now reviewing. She is, in truth, one of the heroines of England, and considering the religion she professes, and the noble objects she has had at heart, she deserves to bear a title, which can alone be appropriate to herself, that of a *Protestant Sister of Charity*.

It is not possible to know what she has done, without feeling interested in all that regards herself, nor treat but with respect the opinions she entertains, even when we are compelled to differ from them.

And here we may remark in introducing Mrs. Maury's account of herself, and of the miserable state of health to which she was reduced, and that rendered a voyage to America advisable, that she gives an insight, by describing her own case, into the condition of the middle classes—of those engaged in mercantile pursuits—of which it would be difficult to say whether the very rich or the very poor are the more ignorant. We behold in this extract how that very class, which, to the eyes of the world, personifies the enterprise, talent, and greatness of England, is tortured between the agonies of hope and the terrors of despair, until at last the homes of Englishwomen are filled with care, with fear, and finally with sickness, which prostrates all the energies that have been long and vainly battling for competency, and a security against pauperism.

"I am the mother of eleven children, of eight sons and three daughters. Twelve years had scarcely elapsed between the births of the oldest and the youngest, and during a period of seventeen years my life had been exclusively devoted to the nursery and the school-room. I was the slave of my children; no hireling rocked their cradle, or soothed their infant tears; no stranger was their nurse or their instructor. Mine has been the toil, and mine the thought; mine is the reward, for as yet no cloud darkens their bright future. But this unceasing anxiety and labour at length undermined a naturally powerful constitution. Six years ago my mother died, and six weeks after she had been taken from the sorrow to come, my husband, by the caprice of commerce, found himself penniless; three weeks after this event my youngest child was born. Sorrow

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Mr. Wakely and Mr. Labouchere both referred in terms of praise to the "Englishwoman in America." It was truly declared by Mr. Labouchere to be "*a valuable and interesting book.*"



and over-exertion had nearly completed the ruin of my health, when fresh calls were made upon my exhausted powers. Nine of the children, during the winter of 1844-5, were seized with the hooping-cough, and after nursing them successfully through it, I was myself attacked, and of course suffered severely. It left me in a state of nervous depression which I could not have conceived had I not been myself the sufferer; and for the benefit of those who are the victims of so cruel a malady, I venture to narrate the effects which I experienced, not only from this disease (for such it is) of the nerves, but also the benefit which I derived from a sea voyage, and the change of climate and of scene. The suffering was constant; I was the cause of misery by day and by night to all around me. I fancied the bed shook under me at night, and I never ventured to sit longer than ten minutes on the same chair, believing that it would immediately break down, or else that the floor was giving way under my weight. My household duties were a source of indescribable difficulty—to order dinner required an exertion of mind quite above my capacity, and the household accounts were as overwhelming and perplexing to my bewildered apprehension as the Treasury of the United Kingdom, or that monument of monetary confusion, the Bank of England.

"I wearied my friends with personal complaints, and my husband with tears. At last I thought that I carried a weight on my head, my sight became impaired; I fancied that I was deaf, had a noise of water in my ears, and, *pour comble*, I at length became satisfied that I should immediately have some kind of fit or attack in my head. Often after hours of wakefulness I have nearly sunk to sleep, and then started up in sudden and horrid fright, convinced that I was struck with palsy, and that when I should awaken my limbs would be found deprived of motion, and my mind divested of intelligence. Sometimes I have risen in these moments of agony, fearful of resigning myself to sleep, lest it should prove the sleep of death, looked on my husband and my children for the last time, and thought of the grief they would endure when in the morning I should be discovered paralysed or dead."—(pp. 102—105.)

We now pass to America, and we there find Mrs. Maury, whose attention has been attracted to the fact, that in all cases of contagious diseases, the Catholic clergy are ever found ready to tend the sick and to soothe their last moments, even though certain that in doing so they must themselves perish. The celibacy of the Catholic clergy, even as a human institution, presses itself upon her mind as a *Protestant*, and she thus gives expression to her sentiments:

"It was during my conversation with Dr. Hughes, both with regard to Dr. Fraser and to the Report on the Hottinguer, that I

began to perceive the differences which exist between the ministration of the Catholic Priesthood, and that of the Established Church of England. In the case of emigrant exigencies, who but the ministers of the former religion would, or indeed could, be the comforters of the sick and needy? The superiority of the Catholic dispensations, with regard to the active duty of the clergy, became distinctly perceptible even to my then prejudiced and ignorant estimation of circumstances, and I listened with chained and wondering ear to the accidental remarks of the Bishop. It was now that I made a solemn determination to enquire, with a candid and courageous spirit, into the truth or untruth of the scandals which I had read and heard from my youth upwards of the Priesthood of the Catholic Church; of those men who bear the griefs and carry the sorrows of their infirm and ignorant neighbours, and who assuredly come nearer, in their walk through life, to the Saviour's model than any clergy of any religion whatever. In my own home I could not, for various reasons which all will understand more intimately than I could explain them, pursue my enquiries so searchingly and so constantly as I could in a stranger land, where I was unobserved and independent in my movements, and unrestricted as to place and time. And well this honourable body sustained the scrutiny; well they proved the falseness of their accusers, and well their diligence and devotion proclaimed that their kingdom is not of this world, but of the world to come. I came like a thief in the night, unlooked for, undreamed of by all; but each man was awake, each was keeping his appointed watch with unalterable constancy beneath the eye of God.

"In this very case of attendance upon ship-loads of plague the advantages of a single life for the Priesthood became evident; what ministers of any Church, save Catholics, and they alone, may venture into the abodes of disease, from which they run the risk of probable sickness and of possible death? They run this risk un murmuring and unflinching, not with the hardness of the stoic, but with the meekness of the christian; yet not in fear or trembling, but with the self-sacrificing courage of a soldier of Christ.

"And the reason is obvious, they do not fear to carry sickness to the wife of their bosom or the children of their hearth; they have renounced domestic ties, that they may open their hearts more fully to those extended sympathies which include the whole of the human race. And certainly this is the vocation of a Priest, of one professing to imitate that Saviour who forsook his earthly parents to do the will of his heavenly Father.

"Many there are who exclaim with sanctified horror at the increase of Popery in the world, and especially in England. Mistaken in their conceptions of Christianity, these persons found their opinions on what they hear in fashionable Churches from the lips of a benefited clergy, trembling not for the faith, but the form, not for the *perversion* of the poor, but for the *reversion* of their

own rich livings. But I would not slander pious men, and especially those of my own denomination. I do believe that, peradventure, there are ten righteous among them who relieve the distressed, who judge the fatherless, and plead for the widow." (pp. 77—80.)

We had marked many passages for extract, but must restrict ourselves to one more, as it will interest our lady-readers, giving a graphic and most pleasing portraiture of Mrs. President Polk, and of the widow of the celebrated Madison. It is an extract sufficient to demonstrate that there are many things to be found in Mrs. Maury's work calculated to interest all classes of readers.

"I have seen three anointed Kings and three inaugurated Presidents. I admire the Presidents the most. I have seen three Queens, and three ladies who have shared in the honours of the Presidency; and truly among the Queens not one could compare with the regal grace of Mrs. Madison, the feminine and distinguished *personnel* of Mrs. Polk, and the intelligent and lady-like demeanour of Mrs. Adams; the first of these ladies has been, nay, she still is, at the age of eighty-six, eminently beautiful, with a complexion as fresh and fair, and a skin as smooth as that of an English girl. Mrs. Polk, were it not for the same defect in the teeth (though in a less degree) which characterizes the mouth of Queen Victoria, would be a very handsome woman. Her hair is very black, and her dark eye and complexion give her a touch of the Spanish Dama. These American ladies are highly cultivated, and perfectly accomplished and practised in the most delicate and refined usages of distinguished society. It is not possible to observe the affectionate and deferential manner of Mrs. Polk towards the august lady who is now the "Mother of the Republic," without feeling for each the warmest admiration. Indeed, the name and presence of Mrs. Madison are revered throughout the Union, and universal respect is paid to her. I was in the House of Representatives when, attended by her niece, she came in to hear the maiden speech of Mr. Hilliard of Alabama. By an Act of Congress Mrs. Madison is entitled to a seat on the floor of the house,\* and she was immediately presented with a chair directly below the Speaker. Many members approached, and with visible emotion paid their respects to the widow of their departed President. The recollections of Mrs. Madison are remarkably fresh, her spirits are cheerful, and her affections are young and full of cordiality. Dressed in a black velvet gown, and a turban of the whitest muslin, Mrs. Madison reminded me of the English Siddons, of whom in childhood I have had a glimpse. I was told that her perception of

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\* She also retains the privilege of franking letters.

persons and names during her reign in the White House was extraordinary, as well as the singular and happy facility with which she adapted her conversation to her hearers. From her friend, Mrs. Decatur, I have learned many instances of her sweetness of character, her total forgetfulness of self, and of the strong good sense which has ever regulated her conduct through life. To her may truly be applied the words of Milton :—

—————“ So absolute she seems,  
And in herself complete, so well to know  
Her own, that what she wills to do or say  
Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best.”—(pp. 201, 203.)

With this extract we would willingly take our leave of Mrs. Maury's book, and advise its general circulation, and if we could, ensure its universal perusal. Here, however, we cannot stop; for candour compels us to say, that Mrs. Maury has fallen into some mistakes on matters of fact, as connected with the newspaper press of England, and a grievous error in judgment as regards the institution of slavery in the United States.

As critics, the newspaper reviewers are not to be despised, because they actually do exercise a great influence on public opinions; and as men, who write what is in accordance with their own convictions, they are deserving of respect. Nothing can be more contrary to the fact, than the description given in the note to p. 91, of the manner in which reviews are written, if that description is intended to be applied to the daily newspapers of London. We do not know, and *we* have much information on the subject, that it is true, or anything like the truth, if applied to the daily evening, or weekly *political* papers in London. These reviews, we are sure, are written honestly, each in accordance with the conviction of the reviewer; and every work has a fair chance of being treated according to its merits, provided it does not offend the prejudices nor excite the bigotry of the reviewer. In that case the author is sure of being treated with as little mercy as the Curate's aunt and niece exhibited for the favourite romances of Don Quixote. The author may complain of this as unjust, but still he has no right to affirm that it is dishonest. When he assaults prejudices, he cannot hope to find that those with whom those prejudices are principles will be content with defending them, they will treat *their* assailant as a personal foe. To show that there is virtue in Catholicity,

is to offend these deep-rooted prejudices; but to demonstrate the possession of great merits and transcendent talents in a Catholic prelate, like Bishop Hughes, is to expose one's self to be handed down as a public enemy. Such we believe has been the fate of Mrs. Maury; and however she may feel indignant at the impropriety of the course pursued towards her, she may rest assured that, as far as the daily and political press of London was concerned, she suffered from a mistaken, deep-rooted, but still conscientious prejudice. We make a marked distinction between that press, and the professedly weekly literary reviews. Repeated complaints, and those complaints founded on justice, demonstrate that the opinions of those reviews are not to be relied upon; that with them, the publisher and the author are primary considerations, and the merits or demerits of the book reviewed the least important point of all, in the estimation of those ill-disposed critics. Hope of gain, fear of offence, the self-laudations of a clique, and the envious spite which cannot endure success in a total stranger, or a diffident acquaintance, mark the lucubrations of the avowed hebdomadal reviewers, who are only formidable because they are permitted to occupy a position of which they have in a thousand instances proved themselves unworthy. In the contempt which Mrs. Maury expresses for these modern occupants of Grub Street, we do most cordially coincide; but they are not for a moment to be confounded with those who write reviews for such papers as the *Times*, *Chronicle*, *Herald*, *Post*, and such weekly papers as the *Observer*, *Economist*, *Sunday Times*, *Douglas Jerrold*, &c.

As to the question of slavery, we regret sincerely to see our authoress say a single word in favour of it, or of those who uphold it. (See pp. 138, 193, 234, et sequent.) We admit that there is no subject on which there has been more of hypocrisy and of cant, in modern times, than on this very question of slavery. We have seen the oppressors of the poor in England, and those who sought to take advantage of the misery of the poor in Ireland to carry out their base system of proselytism, profess to have a great horror of slavery, and on that profession build up for themselves a character of humanity. We admit also, that the slave in the United States may be in the enjoyment of more animal comforts than the self-styled "freeman" in Ireland, or even in England. We admit also, that the

"freeman," who is "a pauper," is treated as if he were a slave, and subjected to the worst tortures which accompany slavery; for, in his misery, the New Poor Law makes him more miserable, separating the husband from his wife, and tearing the children from their mother. We admit that *we* as a nation have no right to uplift ourselves with the self-laudation of the Pharisee, and declare that we are superior to our brethren in America, amongst whom we planted slavery as an institution, and rooted it so deeply in the soil, that to force it now away by violence must endanger all the social edifice that has been raised over it. Slavery, in our estimation, is a violation of the laws of God, and the rights of man. It is an evil to be abolished, and a sin to be suppressed; but fanatics are not to be permitted to render its abolition a cloak for crime, nor incendiaries, whilst pretending to suppress it, be suffered to convert it into an instrument for anarchy and massacre. Its fitting opponent is the Catholic Church, and as it strengthens in the United States slavery will decay, as slavery decayed in England, in proportion with the power of the clergy and the piety of the people.

"Cotton," remarks Mrs. Maury, "will not grow spontaneously, and emancipated slaves will not grow it, and white men cannot. The voluntary industry of the negro is moonshine."—p. 239.

Is this then a reason why the negro *as a slave* should be forced to grow cotton for his masters? Have *we* a right to force from him, when if free he might live independent of us, a species of toil which is to increase our wealth? We think not, because to declare so, would be to admit that those who are born noble have a similar right over us, and then kings over nobles, until our society should at last be composed but of various classes of slaves. Assuredly this is not the end of good government. Then what is? Does it consist in the greater wealth of a nation, or the greater happiness, ease and comfort, of the masses of the population? If the wealth of a nation constituted the happiness of a people, England, which is the richest, mightiest, and most powerful nation in the world, ought to be the Elysium on earth of the poor man. But is it so? Mrs. Maury herself shall answer the question. It is the moral of her book.

"If you are possessed of rank and money, stay in England; no



where are these advantages so available. If you have neither rank nor money, *get away from it as fast as possible.*"

Thus the wealth of an empire does not constitute the happiness of its population. Its accumulation of riches is consistent with the most deplorable destitution; and yet Mrs. Maury approves of slavery in the United States, because without slavery there would not be exports of cotton, that is, there would not be an accumulation of wealth, and one class of men are to treat others as if they were brutes, to separate the wife negro from the husband negro, the mother negro from the negro children, (see p. 244;) for without the perpetuation of such a system, "*the voluntary industry of the negro is moonshine,*" p. 239.

This is the great and solitary defect in the work of Mrs. Maury. We deplore that one so kind and so philanthropic, should have taken so imperfect and so short-sighted a view of the question of slavery.

Considered as a whole, the work however is one of great value, and cannot but be read with extreme interest. America, the North as well as the South, is now the land to which all who despair of their own country fly as to a place of refuge—"refugio y amparo de los desesperados"—and to all who seek before their arrival there, to have a distinct knowledge of its society, its manners, and its institutions, we recommend an attentive perusal of "*An Englishwoman in America.*" Even that which we regard as an error, may be useful in suggesting to them the wisdom of examining into institutions before they condemn them; whilst all other portions of Mrs. Maury's writings will demonstrate to them, that if they become settlers in the United States, their success and their happiness will rest with themselves, and can be rendered most sure by their industry, their integrity, and their morality.

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ART. IV.—*On the Monuments of Nineveh, now transferred to the banks of the Seine and the Thames, and the Cuneiform Characters.*

**D**ESPITE the frequency and seriousness of the accidents which have occurred on railways since their recent construction, their gigantic paths of iron have now

overrun Europe. The long peace, which we have enjoyed for upwards of thirty years, has promoted every species of industry, and increased commercial transactions to a boundless extent; and the facilities of communication, at once the cause and the effect of all this, have established between different countries relations which are constantly on the increase. Add to all this that mania for locomotion, that ever-burning activity, which at this time infects all free-traders, a class of individuals whom we might almost term the methodists of industry in all its phases, and it will be readily understood that the immense network, which is day by day spreading its huge threads over every corner of our old West, now threatens to carry its encroachments as far as the East.

The traveller, who is desirous of receiving new impressions, who feels a curiosity about countries which bear no resemblance to those which compose the great European family, must now go very far to find them. He must proceed to the eastern shores and penetrate into the heart of that Asia, where ancient traditions, pastoral life, and religious sentiment still preserve a local colouring, which steam has not yet been permitted to destroy.

In the centre of Asia are innumerable countries difficult of access, at a distance from the shores of the ocean or of the Mediterranean, protected by vast deserts and impenetrable chains of mountains from the inroads of modern civilization. There the bayonet did for a moment force its way through the natural barriers of the land, but the wily policy of the diplomatist has not yet succeeded in obliterating the nationality of the inhabitants. Of all these countries Persia is the most remarkable; its history, which is connected with the events of the most distant ages, its conquests, its arts, its literature, and its religion, all contributed to render this country the most powerful, the most mighty, and the most glorious of all the Asiatic nations of antiquity.

To the astonished traveller who has just crossed the flat deserts of Mesopotamia, or the wild and rugged mountains of Armenia (the ancient Media) the cities of Ecbatana, Luga, and Persepolis, display the remains of their palaces and temples, their numberless bas-reliefs, before which Alexander the Great is said to have stopped with sentiments of awe and reverence.

Three years ago, scarcely any thing was known of the

ancient capital of the kingdom of Assyria, except its locality and its name. With this name were associated a few statements of scripture, together with some marvellous assertions of the ancient historians. In 1838, however, the author of this article ventured to state,\* that no doubt there would one day be discovered, either on a brick or a stone, the name of a king of Nineveh or Babylon, and hence would be obtained the key to the mystic characters of the Assyrians—the cuneiform system of writing—and his predictions are now partly fulfilled.

In front of Massoul, and on the eastern bank of the Tigris, there is a plain intersected by the river now called Khausser. Here stood Nineveh.—What was the race of men that founded the Assyrian empire? On this point we have the undeniable testimony of scripture, and we find in Genesis, ch. x. “The sons of Sem were Elam and Assur.” “The sons of Cham, Chus and Mesraim, and Phuth and Chanaan. And Chus begat Nimrod,” and the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon. “Out of that land (the land of Sennaar) went forth Assur, and built Ninive.”

These passages admit of easy interpretation. Assur is the son of Sem, Assur is the father of the Assyrian race. This race was therefore Seacitic. Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord, was the son of Chus, the son of Cham; that is, he represents the Chamitic or Ethiopico-Arabian race, which invaded the land of Assur, and founded an empire of which Babel or Babylon was the capital. Then Assur, the Seacitic, who was expelled from the land of Renor, or Levoar, founded Nineveh. Unfortunately the scriptures add no explanation to this simple exposition of facts.

According to Genesis, we may be certain of the existence of a weighty revolution produced by a contest between two races of men, occupying the same territory; but we are not in possession of sufficient details to appreciate the causes and effects of this revolution.

The accounts of profane history are not more explicit. They tell us that the Assyrian Ninus, son of Belus, having been expelled probably from the land where the Cushites

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\* In the British Critic, in reviewing a work by Dr. Russell on the Connection of Sacred and Profane History.

had forcibly established themselves, took possession of the country north of Babylon, and founded on the banks of the Tigris a new empire, the capital of which was Nineveh. We are justified in admitting that the empire of Babylon was founded about 2,500 years before the Christian era; hence the foundation of Nineveh ought to be assigned to the same epoch. Some centuries later, (about A.C. 2000) under the reign of Ninus, and his wife Semiramis, the empires of Nineveh and Babylon were united under one sceptre, and these two states continued to form but one up to the period when Sardanapalus, in order to escape the vengeance of his revolted troops, ascended a funeral pile, and killed himself about A. C. 800.

It is not until we reach this period, still very remote from the Christian era, that Assyrian history begins to be cleared from the mists of mythology. The canon of the kings of Chaldea, which Ptolemy has preserved, and which was doubtless the work of the learned Chaldean astrologers, deserves to be ranked as one of the most precious historical documents. In fact, this chronological list appears worthy of all confidence.

Ptolemy's canon begins with Nabonassar, who ordered it to be commenced, and who desired, moreover, that all historical data relative to Chaldean history, should begin from his reign. The Scriptures inform us, that about the same period the kings of Nineveh were successively Theglath-Phalasar and Salmanasar.

The Babylonian sovereigns, apparently vassals of the Assyrian kings of Nineveh, attempted to free themselves from the supremacy of the latter, and formed an alliance with the kings of Juda, in order to make head against the common enemy. Merodach-Baladan united with Ezekias against the king of Nineveh. The latter triumphed over this coalition; and a few years later, Asarhaddon, son of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, was set upon the throne of Babylon by his father, who thus united the two crowns of Babylon and Nineveh. Some time later, a new coalition was formed against Nineveh by the Medes and Chaldeans. Cyaxares, king of the Medians, appeared before Nineveh, the throne of which was occupied by a new king of the name of Sardanapalus. The latter was conquered, and, like the first of this name, perished in the flames of his palace. Nineveh was reduced to ashes, and fell, never to rise again, A. C. 626. The seat of govern-

ment was transferred to Babylon. Nabopolassar and his son Nabuchodonosor successively occupied the throne, which they surrounded with power and fame. The Chaldeans in their turn became conquerors. The Egyptians and their king Nechos were driven away from the Euphrates; the Jews, always beaten, and always revolting, were carried away into captivity to Babylon in the year A. C. 588; Egypt itself was invaded. Nabuchodonosor on his return built a second Babylon, opposite the first, on the right bank of the Euphrates. The most wonderful works that the imagination can conceive, were executed by him in this sumptuous capital, which still elicited the admiration of Herodotus and Ctesias, notwithstanding the damage it had sustained from the invasions of the Persians.

Nabuchodonosor was succeeded in 561 by his son, Evilmerodach, who was assassinated two years afterwards by his brother, Neriglissor. This usurper did not retain the crown longer than four years, at the end of which he lost it, together with his life, in a battle against Cyrus, king of the Medes and Persians. His young son Laborsarchod, then ascended the throne, of which he was very soon deprived by his ministers, who were exasperated by his cruelties. Nabonadius, the Labynetus of Herodotus, and the Baltassar of scripture, was appointed to succeed him. Cyrus, after his expedition against the Lydians, having now become acquainted with the road to Babylon, returned to the Euphrates. Nabonadius vainly attempted to arrest the progress of the conqueror; he was defeated, and shut himself up in his capital, which he believed impregnable. Cyrus then having turned off the waters of the river, and dried up its bed, entered Babylon the very moment when, according to the prophet Daniel, a mysterious hand was writing on the wall of the banquet-room, the terrible words: *Mane, Thecel, Phares*, the mere sight of which broke the loins of Baltassar. Babylon being now taken, an illustrious name was all that remained of the Chaldean empire.

Of the facts which we have here briefly enumerated, some are certain, but others are very doubtful. We will therefore confine ourselves to such historical data, as will enable us to conjecture the period when the recently discovered monuments were constructed. Nineveh was destroyed A. C. 626; it never recovered from this frightful

disaster, and 88 years later Babylon itself became the prey of Cyrus. As the Persepolitan cuneiform writing is found occupying the place of honour in all the written monuments, whether bilingual or trilingual, that we possess respecting the dynasty of the Achemenides, to which the conqueror of Babylon belongs, we may be certain that every monument in Chaldea, whether at Babylon or Nineveh, when unaccompanied by a Persepolitan translation of the written text, will be anterior to the Persian conquest, that is, to A. C. 538. From this very simple and natural remark it follows, that the construction of the palace of Khorsabad, discovered by Mr. Botta, was anterior to the conquest of Cyrus, and most probably to the destruction of Nineveh by Cyaxares, A. C. 626.

It is one of the characteristics of superior minds to take advantage of the circumstances in which they are placed, when these circumstances appear favourable, or unfold any striking information. This is doubtless the favourable side of that system of utilitarianism, which, unfortunately, at the present time, has sunk into the grossest materialism. It was doubtless with the view of enriching the human mind, that such men as Arquetil, Dupéron, Grotefend, Lassen, Burnouf, Westergaard, Rawlinson, Botta, and Layard, devoted themselves with a highly meritorious ardour and zeal to investigations and researches, which, aided by archæology and philology, have enlarged the sphere of our historical knowledge.

In the exercise of his official duties, being placed in the immediate neighbourhood of that Nineveh, the name of which has so often excited the wonder of our childhood, Mr. Botta commenced excavations in the quarter marked out by English travellers, as the site \* of the ancient city. At first he found nothing but bricks and shapeless ruins: Without feeling discouraged at his bad fortune, he accidentally decided upon directing his men to work at a spot at some distance from the place where he had just failed, in the village Khorsabad. This village, built upon an eminence, at the north-west of which the men were set to work, contained a palace, one of the most admirable discoveries of modern times. He hastened to communicate this discovery to the learned world. Unfortunately

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\* This site is about one mile in length, and half-a-mile in breadth.



the splendid edifice, the ruins of which had just been excavated, had perished in a violent conflagration. The walls, formed of strong masonry-work and unburnt bricks, had been originally coated with gypsum, and everywhere covered with cuneiform inscriptions. But the nature of these coats of gypsum rendered their preservation almost impossible; for as soon as they were exposed to the action of the air, they deliquesced with a most provoking rapidity, and, as the excavations proceeded, the previous discoveries became annihilated.

After some delay, the causes of which it is unnecessary to mention, the excavations were recommenced, and never more abandoned. A young artist of approved talent, and who was well prepared for the task by the long study which he had made of the monuments of Persepolis, (which are perfectly analogous to those of Nineveh,) Mr. Flandin was commissioned by the French government to make drawings of whatever antiquities should be discovered in the excavations at Khorsabad. As we have already stated, this village was, we might almost say, the sepulchre of an immense palace, which lay concealed there in the bowels of the earth, and which has been almost entirely disinterred by the excavations carried on under the direction of Mr. Botta. It had been ruined by a conflagration, hence the rapid destruction of the coats of gypsum with which the thick earth walls were cemented. These being no longer held together, deliquesced and formed the mound beneath which the lower parts of the palace remained buried. The state in which this Ninevite palace was found, might very well be compared to that of the ground floors of the houses at Pompeii, which lay buried several feet beneath "lapilli," or small pumice-stones, over which a thick layer of ashes was superimposed.

Nearly the entire plan of the palace admitted of being restored, as the excavations proceeded within the vast halls with which it had once been adorned. The walls, both within and without, were nearly everywhere covered with coats of gypsum of considerable dimensions, their average thickness amounting to nearly one foot. The sculptures which covered them were colossal figures of gods, priests, kings, warriors, eunuchs, and prisoners. In other places were scenes of every description; attacks made upon fortified cities, troops landing, battles, triumphs, hunting and feasting. Where the figures in relief were

not of sufficient dimension to reach to the top of the wall, two rows of bas-reliefs would be seen placed above, and invariably separated by a zone of cuneiform inscriptions, no doubt explanatory of these, and made up of about ten lines, pervading the whole extent of the double bas-reliefs.

All these sculptures had been coloured. There was no possibility of doubting it. At last a great number of the gates of the palace were discovered. Who can conceive the joy of the antiquarians upon perceiving that these gates were constructed upon the same plan, and that like those at Persepolis, their casings were gigantic figures of winged bulls with human faces, wrought out of a single block of alabaster, having their heads covered with high rich tiaras. Behind these bulls were found other colossal figures, also monolithic, representing men strangling lions.

The joy and impatience which awaited the arrival of the wrecks of this sumptuous palace at Paris, were beyond all description. To satisfy the curiosity of an enthusiastic people, efforts were made to preserve some. It was found necessary for the conveyance of one of the wonderful gates of the palace, to construct a vehicle capable of transporting the blocks to the banks of the Tigris. But these colossal monuments of Nineveh, by their immense bulk, rendered all attempts to remove them unavailing. The only plan, therefore, to adopt in these circumstances, was to saw them into pieces of a more manageable size, at the same time taking the wise precaution of burying some colossal remains of the same kind in an entire state, in order to preserve some of these magnificent sculptures safe from the mutilations which an insufficiency of resources rendered unavoidable.

Now that these remains are deposited in the Louvre, and the colossal figures have been restored, every piece that was wanting having been readjusted with admirable care, we are enabled to transport ourselves in imagination to the palace of Khorsabad, in that very city peopled by a world of colossi and figures in relievo, covered with sacred and historical inscriptions, and in such profusion, that every one of these coats of cement bears on its reverse a long inscription, destined nevertheless to be smothered in masonry work. What are we to think of a nation, whose capital contained a sufficient number of artists to execute

a work so gigantic in a few years, and with an unheard-of degree of perfection as regards both design and execution? We have said in a few years, because mounds similar to that of Khorsabad cover the plain of Nineveh, around the tracts of land which was believed to have inclosed the city itself, but which is, when properly considered, merely the site of a palace somewhat larger than the others. These wonderful mounds in which palaces are entombed, are found in great numbers in the plain of Nineveh, and Mr. Layard, an English antiquarian, did not sufficiently try to carry on excavations in the middle of the mound at Necurand, distant a twelve hours' march from Khorsabad, and at the mouth of the Zaco, in the Tigris.

Two new palaces were disinterred: the one probably belonging to the same period as that of Khorsabad, had been, like that monument, ruined by fire; the other had fallen into ruins from its great age, and as a proof of this latter circumstance, some coats of gypsum, which had served the purpose of cementing its ancient walls, had been removed at the time that this palace was crumbling into ruins, for the purpose of binding the walls of the new palace. To economise time, they had been merely turned, and the primitive bas-reliefs combined with the masonry work of unburnt bricks. Thus at Nemroud Mr. Layard discovered a palace which had perished of age, the ruins of which served to build the modern palace, the date of which is at least six centuries before the Christian era. In the modern palace of Nemroud, there is the same arrangement as at Khorsabad, the same system of bas-reliefs and inscriptions. In the other palace, which the fire had not completely destroyed, were found numerous fragments of arms, and utensils in bronze and ivory, the study of which will enable us to gain a deeper insight into the Assyrian civilization, a fact which is now revealed to us after so many centuries of oblivion, we were about to say, of incredulity.

One of the finest conquests achieved by Mr. Layard, is a sort of obelisk of a hard black stone, in perfect preservation, and about fifteen feet in height. On the four sides of this obelisk are representations of warlike scenes, in which certain animals are very conspicuous, but which are now found nowhere but in India. These representations are accompanied by cuneiform texts; and these, when read, will doubtless one day assist in restoring some fine

pages of Assyrian history, which the now lost work of Sanchoniaton would, most probably, one day have supplied.

The British Museum has received a considerable number of bas-reliefs taken from the palace of Nemroud, for which we are indebted to the zeal and perseverance of Mr. Layard. They are all in an admirable state of preservation, and form some of the noblest ornaments of the Museum, where so many riches are already accumulated, awaiting the construction of a room adapted for their reception.

The Assyrian Museum at the Louvre, proud of its conquest, is now exhibiting to the public all those which have been brought from Khorsabad. In one of the rooms of the Louvre appointed for the reception of the Assyrian monuments, the walls have been completely covered with large frames of masonry work, in which the bas-reliefs have taken their proper place. Some of these bas-reliefs represent maritime scenes. A large number of vessels, impelled by oars, are conveying huge pieces of wood, apparently designed to assist in an attack which is about to be made upon a fortress built on a rock. Aquatic animals of every description are sculptured on the back-ground of the bas-reliefs—such as crabs, crocodiles, serpents, fishes, and shells. Amongst these monuments there is one which represents the image of the fish-god, or Dagon; on another there appears a winged bull, a symbolical animal, or more probably, the representation of an Assyrian deity; on a third sailors are hauling pieces of wood ashore, and the design of these figures indicates an action and a movement full of energy. In the same room there is a bas-relief, representing three warriors, the first two of whom are leading horses, in excellent attitudes, very appropriately designed, and bearing an exact resemblance to those which are found among the Greek sculptures belonging to the Achaian period. The Assyrian warriors have javelins in their hands, their shoulders and loins covered with sheepskins; a tunic covers the body, and their shoes, with the toes turned up like those of the Indians, are tied in the front of the leg. Each of them has a little bag of an elliptic form hung to the girdle, the use of which it is very difficult to conjecture. This bas-relief was surmounted by a long cuneiform inscription, unfortunately, like the others, damaged by fire.

Above this precious piece of sculpture is let in a fragment of a blackish stone, harder than gypsum, representing the lower part of a figure, which holds in its hand a twofold lotus-bud. In front of the figure stands a mystic plant, no doubt the *homa* or *soma*, that divine herb which acts so conspicuous a part in the religious rites of India, and indeed of the whole of Asia.

In front of these bas-reliefs, and on an enormous piece of cement, appear two Assyrian warriors, bearing on their shoulders a war-chariot, probably forming part of the spoils taken from the enemy.

This chariot, the body of which rises vertically, is built like all the Egyptian war-chariots sculptured at Karnak, Medinet-Habor, that is, the axletree is placed at the hinder part of the platform on which the warrior and driver take their stand. This form was probably borrowed by the Assyrians from the Egyptians, because the Theban monuments, on which it is found plainly marked out, are most probably five centuries older than the palace of Khorsabad.

In the second room containing Assyrian antiquities, it is impossible not to witness without admiration the restoration of one of the colossal gates of the palace. Those enormous bulls, with wings and human faces, require to be seen, in order that an accurate conception may be formed of the prodigious effect which they produce. Their proportions are magnificent, and the different parts of the body are made out with a degree of accuracy and skill, evincing an extremely advanced state of art, and a very attentive study of nature. The muscles, sinews, and veins are all expressed with perfect propriety, and an incomparable talent is displayed in the execution of the whole. The heads are very beautiful, and the head-dress has a very noble appearance: this is a tiara of a cylindrical form, adorned with rosaces, from which a profusion of curled locks descend. A triple horn rises from both sides of the tiara; the beard, too, has a multiplicity of curls, that striking peculiarity for which the monuments of Persepolis are distinguished. The vast wings of these colossal figures are spread over the interior walls of the aperture, to which they serve as casings. Between the legs of the bulls there are long cuneiform texts engraved with extreme delicacy, and in a perfect state of preservation. It is much to be regretted that there was not suffi-

cient space to allow the two human colossi, which invariably accompany these winged bulls, to be placed beside them. These enormous statues, which have been placed elsewhere, are not less curious than those which we have just described. Imagine giants from fifteen to eighteen feet high, with their heads and bodies fronting the spectator, and the legs in profile in the act of walking towards the bulls, near which they are placed. In the right hand they hold a sharp crooked weapon, with a hilt adorned with the head of a heifer. In the left hand they are grasping the left fore-paw of a lion, which they are strangling by pressing it in their arms against their breasts. The pain and impatience of the animal are given with perfect truth. Certainly the muzzle of the lions on Parthenon were not more powerfully conceived and executed than those of Khorsabad. The hair and beards of the colossi are artistically woven like the human heads of the winged bulls, and, like them, they have elegant ear-rings. Their arms are adorned with massive bracelets and terminated by lions' heads. It cannot be denied, however, that the general aspect of these figures is displeasing, in consequence of the want of taste in the disposition of the legs, which are represented sideways, while the body is completely in front. The forms are also deficient in elegance. On the right and left of these colossi there are some charming little bas-reliefs let into the masonry work, which evidently represent Assyrian divinities, as intimated by their four wings. One of them has an eagle's head, and is in all probability the image of *Nesrokh*, the all-powerful eagle, the primordial deity of the Assyrian theogony, the prototype of the fabulous bird in the Arabian Nights, the gigantic eagle termed *Rokh*, a name which has preserved the final syllable of the primitive appellation of the now forgotten deity of the Assyrians.

In this second room there is also a stone altar with a circular slab, supported by a prismatic foot, the three angles of which are terminated by lions' claws. The anterior circumference of the slab is taken up with a cuneiform inscription belonging to the same system of writing which is found in all the texts collected at Khorsabad. Were it not for this inscription, the altar, although dug up at Khorsabad, but not in the palace which lay buried underneath that wretched village, might have been almost looked upon as a work of Grecian art. On the top of this altar is placed one of the most precious monuments of Assyrian



art. It is a bronze lion crouching, the back of which is furnished with a strong circular ring. This lion, which was found fixed to the threshold of one of the inner gates of the palace, is quite a masterpiece of the plastic art. This figure, which is admirably designed and executed, is more than twenty feet long; and a bronze antique of this size is very valuable, when it discloses such an advanced state of the art at so distant a period. What might have been the use of these lions, a few of which Mr. Layard discovered in one of the Assyrian palaces of Nemroud, we are unable to state. Nevertheless, it might be conjectured that the ring surmounting the lion found at Khorsabad, was used to support some tapestry hung before the door; and this conjecture is strengthened by the circumstance that a similar bronze ring was found fastened upon one of the pannels of the door.

Some bas-reliefs, generally in a good state of preservation, represent beardless eunuchs with rounded figures, clad in long robes reaching down to the heels, with sandals on their feet, fastened to the toe by a single strap. These personages are coming forward, with their hands crossed horizontally in token of submission, and with swords hung to their left side with elegant belts.

In another place, an Assyrian soldier is supporting upon his shoulders a car, adorned everywhere with beautiful figures of horses. Before him walks another soldier, carrying two vases terminating in lions' muzzles, which probably form, together with the car, a part of the spoil taken from the enemy. Farther on, a royal personage (for such he appears by his air of authority and his long sceptre) has on his head a conical cap, which bears an exact resemblance to the present head-dress of the Persians.

On another bas-relief, still more curious, appears a divine personage with four wings, having for head-dress a three-cornered tiara, surmounted by a real fleur-de-lis.\* He is extending his right hand, which holds a pine-apple; in his left is a vase, which no doubt is intended to hold water. It appears evident that we have here the image of some deity analogous to the Ormuzd of the Persians, bestowing upon mankind the two essential principles of

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\* Herodotus informs us, that the usual ornament for the head of a cone among the Assyrians was a lily.

nature, i. e., fire and water; the former represented by the pine-apple, the latter by the vase in which it is contained. In front of this deity there are placed two personages making a sign of religious invocation with the right hand. One of them carries with his left a wild goat, probably destined to be sacrificed on the altar of the deity which they invoke; the other holds in the same hand a triple lotus bud.

All these pieces of sculpture, without any exception, were undoubtedly covered with paintings. The traces are very numerous, and so apparent, that there cannot be room for the slightest doubt upon this subject. This fact reminds us of the discredit shown some years since to the statement of a traveller just returned from Persepolis, who affirmed that he thought some faint traces of painting were perceptible upon the bas-reliefs of those sumptuous ruins. The ruins of the palace of Khorsabad now confirm what has been hitherto regarded as a mere hypothesis.

The whole palace, whose precious remains now adorn the Assyrian Museum at the Louvre, was built on an area formed of a single row of bricks, which are very hard, and covered with inscriptions; underneath was found a bed of sand from the Tigris, ten inches thick, spread over a mass of bricks disposed in several rows, and cemented together by bitumen. In short, all the thresholds of the inner doors were covered with a stone slab, on which was engraved a very detailed cuneiform text. The cavities appear to have been originally filled up with copper, to judge from the numerous traces of green oxide which are still to be observed.

We shall conclude this article with the most precious portion, in our opinion, of the treasures discovered at Khorsabad. It will be perceived that we allude to the numerous inscriptions met with in this sumptuous palace, the deciphering of which will infallibly throw so much light upon the now obscure history of the Assyrian empire.

These inscriptions found at Khorsabad may be divided into several distinct classes.—1. Those which are read on the back of the coats of cement.—2. Those which are read on the thresholds of the inner doors.—3. Those which are read between the legs of the bulls.—4. Those which undoubtedly serve as commentaries to the countless bas-reliefs which decorate the surface of so many walls.—5. Those which are found on the bas-reliefs themselves. The

inscriptions of the fourth category contain very probably consecutive narratives, the possession of which would be of inestimable value; but it is hardly possible to succeed in the work of deciphering texts of so great an extent, notwithstanding the assistance afforded by the represented facts which are accompanied by these texts.

We should, perhaps, have more chance of guessing the meaning of the names of towns and personages inscribed on the bas-reliefs themselves. However, compelled as we are to have recourse to conjecture only, it is much to be feared that errors will be committed. We will, nevertheless, ourselves venture an opinion. Might not the texts, which are inscribed between the legs of the bulls, be religious texts? This conjecture is supported by the circumstance, that these texts are added to the representations of beings eminently religious. In like manner, might not the texts inscribed upon the thresholds of all the doors, contain some invocation in favour of the sovereign lord of the palace, some sort of prayer in his honour, or some pompous eulogium upon the monarch before whom those who pass through are about to appear? Every one who has travelled in the East, and is acquainted with the oriental languages, is aware of the custom of the inhabitants to cover their monuments with passages from the Koran, or any other religious inscription.

We now come to the inscriptions engraved, rather negligently it is true, on the backs of all the coats of cement. The existence of these inscriptions is indisputably one of the most extraordinary facts revealed to us by the excavations at Khorsabad.

What was the peculiar sentiment of that people, which rendered it incumbent upon them to trace enormous inscriptions doomed to remain buried in masonry work? Doubtless, as we have already said, a pre-eminently religious idea can alone have dictated such a practice.

Every one has heard of the system of writing, by general consent called *cuneiform*, from the name of the primitive element which forms its basis. This element is a sharp wedge or peg, which can be combined with itself by changing its size and position—and thus furnish groups representing all the articulations of an alphabet, to every degree of development. As may be seen, nothing could be more simple than the creation of a similar alphabetic system. Moreover the element of cuneiform writing was certainly

chosen in consequence of a religious idea, the traces of which we have lost ; for there is a Babylonian monument, the pebble of Michaud, in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, cabinet des antiques, at Paris, amongst a number of figures having reference to evidently religious ideas. This monument represents a nail, the essential basis of all cuneiform writings, placed upon an altar as a sacred object. Such a coincidence as this could not be accidental, and assuredly there is in this fact, a sufficiently explicit indication of the religious origin of the principal element of these extraordinary writings.

Of these cuneiform characters, three systems have been hitherto distinguished, which were probably intended to express the sounds of three different idioms. Some epigraphic monuments, belonging exclusively to the dynasty of the Achemenides of Persia, have been discovered in the ruins of the palace at Persepolis. In general, these inscriptions present three cuneiform texts, and most assuredly relate to the three languages spoken by the three principal races subject to the dynasty of the Achemenides, that is, the Persians, Medes, and Assyrians, or Babylonians. It was natural that the idiom of the ruling race should retain the pre-eminence ; hence, it was conjectured *a priori* that, in the trilingual inscriptions, the first rank should be assigned to the language and writings of the Persians. The same reasoning attributes the second rank to the Median writing, the third to the Assyrian, or Babylonian.

For a long time all attempts at deciphering these inscriptions were fruitless, but there is no problem of this nature which has not yielded to the triumphant efforts of human intelligence, and none should therefore be deemed incapable of solution. Accordingly, the knowledge of the cuneiform writings, the three classes of which we have already indicated, has made considerable progress within a few years.

One of them, the Persian, can now be read—not with extreme facility—but it can be read. A German, Dr. Grotefend, has achieved the honour of being the first to fix, although instinctively only, the value of some of the strange letters which constitute the Persian system. One day, casting his eyes upon a group of characters, he said to himself with a degree of confidence which was entirely instinctive : “ This is the name of Darius ! ” Grotefend

was right. It really was the name of Darius which he had thus singled out and designated. The learned Dr. Young had also either discovered, or conjectured by analogy, the name of Ptolemy long before Champollion, and yet the honour and the profit of the discovery have been assigned to the latter, the former having merely pointed out in a vague manner the locality where the treasure lay buried.

The German doctor discovered likewise that all the words of this first system were separated from each other by an oblique peg, which was isolated and sloped from left to right. From this moment the door was opened to discovery, and the attempts at deciphering became more and more numerous. To judge by the language of the sacred books, which have been collected and translated by Arquetil-Duperon, at the cost of such great sacrifices shamefully unrewarded, it might be affirmed a priori, that these cuneiform texts were known in that idiom which has received the name of Zend, and which bears the same relation to the Sanscrit, as the Italian to the Latin. In France Mr. Burnouf was the first who advanced with a firm and rapid step in this new path. Some important texts were analyzed and translated. The problem was therefore solved as far as the first species of writing was concerned. Since then several distinguished philologists have approached the same subject: Lassen corrected Burnouf's interpretation by his own, which was again corrected by the learned analysis of Mr. Rawlinson.

The honour of the first attempt made upon the *Median* writing is due to Mr. Westergaard. Here he had to contend with the disadvantage of not having the assistance of a sign constantly employed to separate the words from each other. The letters follow each other, and a Median inscription forms a compact whole, which resists interpretation the more effectually from the difficulty of separating them into significative groups. A tolerably clear idea may be formed of a Median inscription from the Greek version which accompanies the Egyptian text of the Rosetta Stone in the British Museum. The following is a specimen:

TEPEOTAIΘOTTOITEIEPOIEKAIEPXOPIOIEKAIEAAHNKOIEΓPAMMAZIN

*Translation.*—Be the decree engraved on a smooth stone, in sacred, enchorial and Greek characters.

However, as was already known beforehand by the

analysis of the corresponding texts of the first system, in which one found the names already deciphered in the Persian, such as Darius, Xerxes, Hystaspes, Achemenes, and Ormuzd, it became easy to determine likewise the limits of these names, and to dissect them in assigning to each character a certain value, which was reserved for subsequent verification by the analysis of the words representing ideas—Mr. Westergaard undertook this charge. The labour, zeal, and patience, of this distinguished philologist will one day be attended with satisfactory results. But there is one circumstance which we cannot pass over in silence. A young German, Dr. Apper, who has devoted himself to these studies, discovered in the idiom of the Median cuneiform texts many points of resemblance to the idioms of the Mongolian stock. Now the numerous branches of the Tartar idioms, as it is well known, have grown out of the Mongolian stock. The ancient language of the Scythians might most probably be traced to the same origin; it is not therefore impossible that the language represented by the second species of cuneiform writing, was destined to represent the sounds of a language belonging to some race which had sprung from the same great family.

The third system of cuneiform writing, namely, that which is called by general agreement the Assyrian system, is now represented by very numerous monuments, thanks to the discoveries of Schulz on the borders of lake Van, and to those of Messrs. Botta and Layard. We are therefore at the present day in possession of texts sufficiently numerous and developed, to allow us to hope for a speedy success in acquiring a knowledge of the Assyrian writing. This solution of course cannot be arrived at otherwise than by proceeding from the known to the unknown. An attentive study of these trilingual monuments, which still exist at the present day, at Persepolis, Hamadan, Mourghâb, Van, and Nakchi-Roustam, has furnished philologists with the means of ascertaining some proper names, such as those of Ormuzd, Cyrus, Darius, Hystaspes, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Achæmenes. It will however be readily understood that the analysis of seven names only is a very feeble auxiliary for the explanation of several hundreds of characters. One fact has been ascertained beyond a doubt; this is, that the proper names of personages in Assyrian history are invariably preceded



by an isolated vertical wedge, with the point downwards, and which seems to perform no other office than that of an unpronounceable index, a simple characteristic of proper names. This fact allows us to discover at first sight, in any Assyrian text whatever, the place occupied by the names, but that is all. In regard to the extent of these names, it will be impossible to determine it, with any degree of certainty, as long as we are without a precise knowledge of more numerous alphabetical articulations than those which occur in the divine and royal names derived from the trilingual inscriptions. Unfortunately the comparison of the names of places and nations does not present any positive results, for it often happens that in passing from one country to another in the immediate neighbourhood, the name of the same locality changes its formation, so far as no longer to present the same characteristics. Such is not the case with the proper names of persons, because these, in passing from one idiom into another, undergo but very trifling alterations, such as are incapable of producing any radical modification in their appearance. On this account Mr. Rawlinson, a diplomatic agent of the British Government, who has been established for some years at Bagdad, copied with great care the famous trilingual inscription of Bistoun. This inscription accompanies an immense bas-relief engraved upon a rock, and representing Darius haranguing a multitude of chiefs of nations subject to his rule. Each of these chiefs is accompanied by a particular legend containing his name and that of the nation over which he presided. We doubt whether Mr. Rawlinson, desirous of reserving to himself the glory of being the first to discover the meaning of the Assyrian inscriptions, will communicate to the learned world the invaluable text which he possesses entire, and it will require some archæological Jason sufficiently courageous to carry off this philological fleece, before which others have stupidly stood gaping without enriching their portfolios.

What, however, are the results hitherto obtained? For a long time the index of the Assyrian names had been observed in the trilingual texts. Mr. Isidore Lawenstein is the first who has delivered to the public any important work upon this interesting subject. Resuming the question *ab ovo*, he effected the analysis of these proper names, and the results of this analysis he has given to the public.

His researches have led him, moreover, to discover in the Assyrian writing the use of homophonic signs, i.e., according to the full acceptance of the word, signs in a variety of forms, representing, as is the case in the Egyptian writing, alphabetic articulations identical with these. On the other hand, Mr. Botta has begun the publication of a work of the highest importance. With a most surprising degree of patience he has dissected each letter of the innumerable Assyrian texts with which the palace at Khorsabad had supplied him. He has bestowed the same labour upon all the inscriptions at Van, and the trilingual inscriptions, and the result of this is an extremely curious catalogue, in which all the permutations of the Assyrian signs are recorded.

Hitherto the language itself has escaped us, and it is impossible, *a priori*, to determine its nature. Nevertheless the geographical position of the country in which this language was spoken, enables us to anticipate a connection more or less intimate with the idioms of the contiguous countries. The Semitic origin of the Assyrian race, which fact is sufficiently authenticated by Scripture, will enable us to feel certain of discovering numerous Semitic roots, resembling, most probably, those which constitute the Chaldean language.\* On the other hand, it is hardly possible henceforth not to recognize in the Assyrian writing a frequency of vowels, which circumstance seems to place it in very close connection with the Persian system itself, and consequently with the present tongue of all the Indo-Germanic idioms—i.e., the Sanscrit. Moreover, if it is true that the concealed writing of the Median system approximates to the Tartar or Mongolian idioms, there is no absurdity in presuming that certain words, certain forms, perhaps, will occur in the Assyrian writing. On the very soil which once bore the Assyrian race, an ancient race exists at this day which is evidently aboriginal, the

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\* In pages 229, 216, of the *origines Biblicæ*, by the learned traveller in Abyssinia, Dr. Rake, the opinion is advanced, that Hebrew, Arabic, Ethiopic, and other languages to which the particular designation of Semitic, Shemitic, or Shemitish, has been applied by philologists, are cognate with the language of Africa, and ought therefore to be denominated *Hamitish*.—See Blackwood's Magazine for Sept. 1844, vol. lvi., p. 324, and the Quarterly Review for October, 1844, vol. lxxv., p. 349, and do. for June, 1846, vol. lxxviii., p. 173.

idiom of which doubtless contains many traces of the language of the Assyrians. This race is the Armenian.

It will now be seen that the problem to be solved presents serious difficulties, since it is absolutely impossible to anticipate what a certain word will be which represents a certain idea, even if this idea be ascertained beforehand. To ascertain the precise value of the characters is the first step to be accomplished; and hitherto the elements of determination, i.e., the proper names to be dissected, are not sufficiently numerous to permit us to proceed with any degree of confidence. When the Bristoun inscription, deciphered by Mr. Rawlinson, appears, more than half the labour will have been effected. Until the publication of this valuable text, the only progress we can make will be to feel our way with more or less success. And who knows whether we may not discover, in the legend of one of those kings conquered by Darius, the Carthaginian tongue, its mother, the Phenician tongue, its daughter, the Irish tongue, in short, the real and genuine language of the Celts.

In conclusion, although we have succeeded, by the aid of inscriptions, in restoring a mere shred of the genealogy of a royal dynasty, although the monuments of Khorsabad furnish us with the name of a king Aparamdis, who is certainly no other than the Aparamdis as of Ptolemy's canon, (he reigned from A.C. 699 to 693) still the question of deciphering the cuneiform writings of the Assyrians cannot make any rapid progress towards its solution, until a trilingual text, such as that of Bristoun, shall have been placed in the hands of philologists.

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ART. V.—1. *Ireland; Historical and Statistical.* By GEORGE LEWIS SMYTHE. 2 vols. London, Whittaker and Co.

2.—*Condition and Prospects of Ireland.* By JONATHAN PIM. Dublin, Hodges and Smith.

3.—*Large and Small Farms.* By HENRY PASSY, Peer of France, Member of the Institute. London, Arthur Hall.

4.—*The True Law of Population.* By THOMAS DOUBLEDAY. Second Edition. London, G. Peirce.

VOL. XXIV.—NO. XLVIII.

5.—*Letters on Monetary Science.* By ALADDIN. London, John Ollivier: Effingham Wilson.

THE history of Ireland is a melancholy record of systematized injustice, the opprobrium of statesmanship, and a satire on civilization. On perusing its disheartening annals, the politician is compelled to acknowledge that every righteous principle has been violated, and the law of social progression designedly opposed. With a genial climate and fertile soil—with natural harbours capacious and approachable, and easily rendered secure by the ordinary application of engineering skill—with rivers and lakes admirably adapted to inland navigation, and inhabited by a population quick in intelligence, patient of toil, and remarkable for fortitude under privation, this unfortunate country, crushed by seven centuries of uninterrupted misrule, has been unable to participate in those advantages which art and science have bestowed on surrounding nations. The retrospect is the more painful when we consider that Great Britain, to which Ireland has been rather annexed than allied, has, during the same period, constantly advanced in the march of improvement, largely accumulating her wealth, and widely extending her dominion; conferring privileges on her transmarine dominions, while she has denied even bare rights to the sister country. In truth, Ireland has been domineered over as a conquered province, but never treated as an integral portion of the empire; nor has this injustice been perpetrated with the concurrence or for the benefit of the *people* of England, Scotland, or Wales, but for the exclusive interests of two privileged classes—an intrusive clergy, and an absentee proprietary—both of whom have combined together for their mutual maintenance and aggrandizement. Ireland has been administered on the principle of patronage, by which the minister of the day has promoted and secured his influence through rewards bestowed on needy dependants and cringing parasites; and thus a whole people have been sacrificed to the cupidity, jealousies, and intrigues of party. Awful warnings have been given in the severe visitations of periodical famines, but even these have been disregarded, or looked upon as inevitable casualties; but the last experience of these calamities, wisely and mercifully inflicted to arouse us to a sense of duty, seems to have taught the Government that this sin of indifference can no longer be committed with impunity, that punish-

ment will follow crime obstinately repeated, and that the superstructure of society will be endangered if its foundations are permitted to decay. "In the moral world," says Robert Hall, "it is part of the wise arrangements of Providence that no member shall suffer alone, that if the lower classes are involved in wretchedness and beggary, the more elevated shall not enjoy their prosperity unimpaired."

Prospective wisdom always adapts its means to its end, and therefore forms to itself a clear conception of the end at which it desires to arrive. In reference to Ireland, the evils to be removed are very various in character and degree, and to these the remedies must correspond. There is no single panacea for the multiplied abuses which there prevail, for they are ecclesiastical, social, and political. The great object of imperial legislation should be to render the people self-sustaining, for rewarded industry is the great safeguard of virtue and morals, and these are among the best guarantees of order. But those measures which might secure the activity and usefulness of labour in Great Britain would assuredly fail in Ireland, because the circumstances of the two countries are essentially different. In Great Britain, the rural population, driven from the plough, may seek and find a refuge in the manufacturing towns, but in Ireland no such source is available. This distinction is fundamental, and whoever overlooks it, will be disappointed in his plans of elevating the condition of the people. It has, however, been disregarded, if not studiously kept out of view, by that school of political economists who think more of the production than of the distribution of wealth, whose whole sympathies are with property, heedless of labour, and who, considering man as a machine, forget the producer while calculating the produce.

"In Ireland," says Gustave De Beaumont, "in place of being a luxury, land is a necessary; it is the only good to which all aspire—it is the subject of all contracts—it is the passion which agitates all minds—it is the interest which stimulates every intelligence—it is the only fortune of the rich, as it is the only hope of the poor. The land in Ireland is the general refuge. It is not correct to say that the people in Ireland desire the land. They covet it—they mutilate it—they tear it in pieces and quarrel about its shreds—they seize upon it by violence and crime. I will not seek to inquire if in Ireland the people long to become proprietors of the

soil, when I see them risking their lives, and taking the property of others, in order to occupy as farmers, patches of half an acre. The property of the soil is so far beyond their grasp, that it presents itself to them as a chimera after which it would be folly to aspire; and, if they do not pursue it, it is not that they disclaim it, but because the acquisition is beyond their means."

This is not an exaggerated statement. The ivy does not cling to the oak with greater tenacity than does the Irish peasant to the soil, and well he may; separated from it he can only encounter starvation and death, since his country contains none of those great workshops of industry to which he can retreat for subsistence. It is from this point of view, therefore, that we must steadily contemplate the distresses of Ireland in regard to remedial measures, and commence our plans of reform by working upwards from the humblest classes of society. Then every step we take will be on sure and solid ground. But to present the subject fully and fairly before our readers, and to give precision to our ideas, we must commence with the statistics of Ireland, which will serve as a moral, social, and economical map of the condition of its inhabitants.

"According to the Report of the Census Commissioners of Ireland for 1841, the surface of the island contains 8,175,124 persons, and 20,808,271 acres. Deducting from the latter 630,825 acres of water, the land will consist of 20,177,446 acres. Of these there are 374,482 which are covered by plantations, 13,464,300 of which are cultivated, and 6,295,735 waste.

"Upon the same authority we learn that the 8,175,124 persons inhabit 1,328,839 houses, of which 491,278 are mud cabins, containing only one room; 533,297 are mud cabins, containing from two to four rooms; 264,184 good farm houses, and houses in the back streets of towns, containing from four to nine rooms; and 40,080 are houses of a better description. Out of the total number of 1,328,839 dwellings, therefore, no less than 1,024,575 are mud cabins.

"Again, of the total number of inhabitants, 8,175,124, no less than 625,356 families, numbering 3,470,725 persons, live in single rooms, while the rural population engrosses 7,039,659. The wages of the labouring portion of this monstrous majority vary in the South and West from 4d. to 10d. and in the North from 8d. to 1s. per day. Under so depressed a state of things, it cannot surprise us to find the Commissioners of Poor Inquiry, in the year 1836, reporting that 2,385,000 of the whole population are paupers.

"In all these details of the actual state of Ireland and its inhabi-



tants, the leading facts are so bold, and they stand so prominently forward, that the attention of the least reflecting minds must be attracted by them. Upon thinking men, they will necessarily produce so deep an impression, as to render the simplest recapitulation of them sufficient to fix their true character upon the memory. They are, 1st, the large quantity of uncultivated compared with cultivated land, 6,295,735 to 13,464,300 acres; 2ndly, the vast preponderance in the number of persons dependant upon agriculture, 7,039,659 out of 8,175,124; 3rdly, the excess of mud cabins, 1,024,575 out of 1,328,839 dwellings; 4thly, the abject poverty and ignorance shown in the low rate of wages, and the inability of 3,766,066 persons above five years of age either to read or write.\*

The accuracy of this statement is not to be impugned, while it serves as an instructive guide in the selection and application of remedial measures. We have the land and its cultivators at our command, and in them we possess the prime elements of national wealth; the disadvantages we have to encounter are, the poverty of the proprietary classes, the ignorance of the peasantry, and their low standard of living, as indicated by the state of their dwellings, food, and clothing. However, with millions of acres yet untouched by plough or spade, and other millions capable of being increased from threefold to fivefold in productive power, none need despair of the regeneration of Ireland; she is quite capable of being rendered self-sustaining; her mud cabins may be changed into comfortable houses; her bogs may be reclaimed from sterility; her people may be educated; nothing more is required than the judicious application of industry, stimulated by the certainty of a just reward.

The first step in this great work of reform, is the emancipation of the soil from the ruinous consequences of very heavy encumbrances upon the land. It is the manifest interest of the public that every acre should be improved to the utmost, and that the owner of an estate should have every inducement to add to its capabilities; but the obvious effect of encumbrances, being to reduce the possessor from the rank of a proprietor to that of a mere receiver of an annuity from land, he is, of course, disposed to expend as little as possible on its permanent ameliora-

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\* Ireland, Historical and Statistical, by G. L. Smythe. London: Whittaker and Co.

tion, and draws from it as much as it will yield. He has no motive to drain, repair fences, or erect buildings. In most cases the estate is charged with a jointure to the widow of his predecessor, and a provision for younger sons and daughters. He is compelled to keep up a certain appearance in society, and borrows money from an insurance office. Thus, loaded with direct and collateral burdens, he starves his estate to maintain a nominal respectability, and agriculture is sacrificed to the enrichment of money-mongers. Mr. Peirce Mahony, an eminent solicitor in Dublin, who gave evidence before the Select Committee on Tithes in Ireland, in 1832, and whose practical knowledge of landed property is as accurate as it is extensive, bore the following testimony to the evils of encumbered estates:—

“The very large estates so held in the South and West of Ireland are comparatively uncultivated, and are heavily encumbered by judgments, &c. Those judgments affect the whole and each part of the estate, as the system is not so much to borrow on mortgage; but even when money has been borrowed on mortgage, it is not borrowed as in England, upon separate and distinct portions of the estate, so as to enable the proprietor, if he thinks fit, to sell that separate and distinct portion of it, and discharge that particular class of debt; the Irish mortgages cover the whole, and thus it becomes scarcely possible for the owner to sell in small divisions.”

He then proceeds to state that

“It would be more beneficial to such landlords and their tenants, that they were forced to part with a nominal enjoyment of large possessions; after the landlord's debts were paid, the surplus (if any) would be more beneficial to them and their families than the casual income they now receive, after deducting expenses of management &c., from their *nominal* estates. Let me submit one case out of many which may be mentioned. A has a rental, say of 5,000£. per annum; the interest on his encumbrances, &c. amount to 4,000£. per annum; while the charge for management, casual losses by tenants, law expenses, &c. may be estimated at 10 per cent. on the gross rental; so that the nominal owner of a rental of 5,000£. per annum, really has but 500£. a-year (supposing his whole rental duly received) to live upon. I have no doubt but that such an estate should be sold, and that selling it is the only prudent course which A could take. In the one case (a sale) he may preserve 1,000£. per annum clear rental; in the other, he has but 500£. encumbered, with the name and station of a gentleman with 5,000£. a-year estate. Such is the condition of many of the landlords of my country.”

Against the severance of estates family pride rebels. Land not only conveys political influence, but its possession, usually accompanied by ancestral traditions, confers an hereditary title to respect and power, so that the proprietor of thousands of acres enjoys in his district almost a local sovereignty. It is painful to descend from so lofty a position, and a father naturally desires to transmit, undiminished, so enviable an authority to his son. This is a laudable ambition, but the public welfare must not be perilled for its gratification. That law is vicious, and should be repealed, which militates against the general good while seeking to aggrandize individuals. It is a common phrase, that a man has a right to do what he pleases with his own; but it must not be forgotten that property has its duties to perform, on failure of which property is morally forfeited. Disguise it as we may, absolute unconditional proprietorship is a pure fiction, originating in usurpation and fortified by vanity; every rich man is a trustee for his poorer neighbour. Land was appropriated to exclusive ownership, that it might be rendered more productive than if permitted to lie in common, and here the obligation of culture is implied. If one proprietor, claiming to do what he pleases with his own, were allowed to leave his acres waste, every other proprietor might assert the same privilege, and, of course, such a system would cause society to retrograde to a savage state. The earth was given to man to subdue it, that he might obtain the means of subsistence. He was to earn his bread in the sweat of his brow. Hence it is obvious that labour becomes a religious and moral obligation, as well as a social virtue; and if individuals do not voluntarily exercise it, the intervention of Government becomes a duty.

Now, in the case of very heavily encumbered estates, which lie barren or half cultivated, owing to the poverty or indebtedness of their owners, it is clear that a law can unbind what a law has bound; and where the common weal demands it, the living are entitled, in human polity, to modify or abrogate the decrees of the dead. Institutions are ever changing and adapting themselves to the altered circumstances of society, and land is not exempted from this law of progression. The pride of families, the love of accumulation, the desire of being proprietor of an extensive domain,—all these feelings must give way to the production of food and the employment of labour.

"When," says Adam Smith, "great landed estates were a sort of principalities, entails might not be unreasonable. Like what are called the fundamental laws of some monarchies, they might frequently hinder the security of thousands from being endangered by the caprice or extravagance of one man. But in the present state of Europe, when small as well as great estates derive their security from the laws of their country, nothing can be more completely absurd. They are founded on the most absurd of all suppositions—the supposition that every successive generation of men has not an equal right to the earth and to all that it possesses, but that the property of the present generation shall be restrained and regulated according to the fancy of those who died perhaps 500 years ago."

We have said that property is a *trust*, to which responsibility is attached; and it has been wisely ordained, that where a trust is violated, punishment follows. If it be said that corrupt legislatures, participating in the spoils of injustice, permit wrong doers to escape from the consequences of their crimes, we answer that such impunity is of short duration; time is mercifully allowed for repentance and reformation, but that time is limited; and through divine agencies, not less assured because unperceived in their approaches, the hour of retribution arrives. Does not the revolution of empires teach this salutary lesson? Have we not seen it exemplified in that awful catastrophe which rent France asunder; and may we not trace its influence in the recent famine which has filled Ireland with mourning? There was the land to sustain its people, but it was uncultivated; the proprietors had neglected their duties, the trustees had forgotten their responsibility, and they have been reminded of their dereliction through the anger of heaven and the chastening hand of the Most High! Every human institution must fall, every form of political government must crumble into nothingness, unless based on religion. Man is but an instrument to effect the intentions of Deity; and diplomats and statesmen are His servants. Not according to *their* wisdom, but according to His wisdom, are they permitted to act. To hope for a blessing on their labours, they must recognize God as the Supreme Legislator, and themselves as His accountable agents; He is the sole Lord of the land, and universal humanity is His responsible tenant. He cares for all; the humblest is not excluded from His benevolent watchfulness; the mightiest are not exempted from His correcting supervision.

These principles, which proclaim the intimate relations between the creature and the Creator, and the doctrine of a particular providence, periodically manifest themselves in action, and confound the vain speculations of worldly-minded politicians. We discern their presence even now in the encumbered condition of a very large portion of the land which aggrandizes a class, and impoverishes the multitude; hence we deduce its sinfulness, and the punishment of the sin is the tendency of the law to bring society back to its first principles, that is to say, to throw the land once more into common, and abolish proprietorship. If arrested before it reaches this extreme, it can only be done by a system of parochial taxation, which gives to those excluded from possession of the soil a claim to subsistence from its produce, prior to the payment of rent. Thus the injustice of the rich ultimately is the cause of their debasement, for, violating the duties of property, they forfeit its rights. Forgetting their responsibilities, they disturb the social machinery, and introduce disorder, while order is essential to the security and permanence of their station. They create the pauperism which devours them, and through a social revolution their estates pass to those whom they have wronged; this is the punishment of abused trusteeship, and this is the government of God, who hurls down the mighty from their seats, when they cease to remember HIM from whom all power is derived.

Sir Walter Scott saw this process clearly, though not under the religious views we have exhibited.

"If," says that celebrated writer, "the existing system in England is not changed, it will happen before long that the total rental of the landlords will be absorbed by the poor rates. The time will come when the whole land will be hypothecated to the poor; and by the strangest and most unexampled of revolutions, the labourers in the country will be substantially in possession of the whole rental in that soil in which any participation is now refused them. In this respect France, more equitable than England, has also shown herself more politic: while our laws favour, by a continual action, the accumulation of landed property; there, on the contrary, they tend to a perpetual subdivision of it. It is possible that the system of France may not be confined within proper bounds, but even were it carried to an extreme, it is less prejudicial than the opposite one."

The impoverished proprietor of an overburdened estate can only display a very spurious kind of magnificence, nor does

the nominal possession of thousands of acres confer upon him either genuine nobility or true greatness. The holder of a few fields, unclogged with mortgages or annuities, is far more independent and far more useful to society. We rejoice to find that Her Majesty's government have determined to afford facilities for the sale of encumbered estates, by which the evils we have sketched may be effectively removed. A bill for this purpose passed the House of Lords in 1847, but was unwisely withdrawn in the House of Commons, partly in obedience to remonstrances made by some Irish proprietors, who were actuated by a false family pride, but chiefly owing to the opposition of the great Insurance Companies, who enjoy the usufruct of a large portion of the soil of Ireland. Another bill has, however, been introduced during the present session, and we trust it will not again be defeated by any combination of the monied interest.

With a facility for selling encumbered estates, the numbers of the proprietary class would be rapidly and extensively augmented, and thus would be laid the foundation of a resident gentry, so incalculably important to Ireland. Such a class, possessing pecuniary resources and a superior intelligence, would at once direct their attention to agricultural improvements, and their interest in the soil would prompt them to encourage habits of industry among the people by whom they were surrounded. Living among the peasantry, observant of their conduct, visiting their cabins, such proprietors would have every inducement to inculcate prudence, perseverance, order, and thrift; and their own example, coupled with precept, could not fail to elicit those social virtues, which, teaching the blessings of independence and the means of obtaining it, would gradually render the people self-sustaining. Of the advantages arising from direct and frequent intercourse with the owners of the land, the Irish, to a very great extent, have been hitherto deprived, and, in many large districts, wholly so; in fact, absenteeism has been the rule, and residence the exception; and this circumstance should never be overlooked when comparisons are instituted between the agricultural labourers of England and Ireland. An appeal to facts will abundantly prove what immense good may be produced by the presence of a proprietary class, not only in the elevation and increased comfort of the people, but in the increased pro-



ductiveness of the soil and the extinction of agrarian outrage.

John Leslie Foster, Esq., M. P. and an extensive land-owner in the county of Kerry, gave evidence before a select committee of the House of Lords, in 1825, appointed to investigate the state of Ireland. His property had been sublet to a middleman, who failed to pay his rent, and Mr. Foster took possession. He found the people poor, semi-barbarous, and insubordinate, and determined to change the whole system. We extract the following passages from his evidence.

"I determined to try the experiment of *setting* to those families, dividing the property among them, and giving each a lease of twenty years. I had a survey made, and explained to the people my object and intentions, which they were slow to believe; they could scarcely comprehend them, and would hardly believe that I intended to behave so liberally to them. The neighbouring gentry saw what was going forward with great dissatisfaction; they were unanimous in predicting the failure of the experiment. I however proceeded, and "set" to the occupying tenantry at rents rather greater than the middleman ought to have paid me, but fully one-third less than they were bound to pay him. When they saw that I was in earnest, they entered very fully into my plan. One of the greatest difficulties that had been anticipated by my neighbours was, that the people would not consent to the separation of companies; there was, however, no practical difficulty of that kind experienced; the land was divided; they even threw down, in many instances, the little cluster of hovels in which they had lived, and built good houses for themselves with very little assistance from me. For six half-years after dividing my property, they paid their rent with the greatest punctuality; there was no default whatever, and I am persuaded they would have continued to do so, but for the circumstances that attended the autumn of 1821 in that part of Ireland, when Captain Rock interfered with that property as well as with others. However, they have renewed their payments, and within the last twelve months I have got a full year's rent from them, and I have no doubt they will go on paying it. This experiment has convinced me of the practicability and facility of introducing the English system of tenure into any part of Ireland, even when appearances are the most unfavourable. I have been there so lately as last summer, and the results have exceeded all my expectations. I think the greater part of the year's rent which I conceive the insurrectionary spirit of the South has operated to deprive me of, was employed in bettering their condition. Their houses, furniture, food, clothes, and stocks of cattle and pigs, are quite superior to any thing in their neighbourhood. *There is not a pauper on the property.*"

The late Lord Headley may also be cited as one of the best and wisest of improving proprietors. His estate of Glenbegh consisted of about 15,000 acres, and such was the lawlessness of the peasantry, that they rarely paid taxes, cesses, or other public dues; and it was their boast that none who took refuge in their fastnesses, was ever overtaken by the arm of justice. Lord Headley began his reformatory labours by employing the people, and, in the words of his agent, Mr. Wiggins, "he resolved to cultivate their good qualities without being at first very eager to punish their bad ones." Roads were formed communicating with the coast, the mud cabins were replaced by stone houses, having chimneys and windows, trees were planted, gardens were walled. In the course of a few years order reigned in this former land of outlaws and bandits. In 1821, when Whiteboyism was at its height, the people of Glenbegh held a meeting, and passed resolutions condemnatory of outrage, and pledging themselves to repel and discountenance all attempts at any insurrectionary movement.

We might also notice the beneficial results which have attended the plans of Lord George Hill at Gweedore; but his useful labours have been so honourably praised in the House of Commons, that it is sufficient to mention his name to call before our readers one of the greatest benefactors of Ireland. We have adverted to these circumstances, because they warrant us in concluding that none ought to despair of the regeneration of the sister country, if the means of improvement are placed within reach of the people. They merely want to be guided into the right direction to rival the English as producers of wealth. They must be instructed how to perform their duty and rewarded for its performance, and then the capital, now slumbering in their muscles, will be brought into operation, and extract the dormant wealth of the soil. In all the great towns of England, the hardest work is executed by the Irish labourer, and he performs it cheerfully; if he is idle or lazy at home, we see the cause in his wretched rate of wages, but transfer him to England, and we behold him industrious, persevering, and skilful. The phenomenon is explained by the difference between 4d. and 4s. a day, and by the fact of the superintendence of an employer interested in the progress of his undertaking, and personally contributing to its success. As human nature is

every where the same, though practically modified by circumstances and associations, we may confidently predict, that so soon as absenteeism ceases, and a resident proprietary take the place of agents and middlemen, agricultural prosperity, in its most gratifying form, will spread through the length and breadth of Ireland.

Society, to be permanent, must be graduated in its relations, since absolute equality is impossible; but we must avoid the extreme of excessive wealth and excessive indigence. We have condemned the evils of inordinately large estates, and we are equally prepared to combat the evils of inordinately large farms. Let it not, however, be suspected that we are the advocates of that minute subdivision which would stud a country over with holdings, each approaching to the size of the squares on a chess board. We are no friends to tenure in rundale, or in con-acre, but we fearlessly assert that the mischief which has arisen in Ireland is not attributable to the *smallness of farms*, but to the *uncertainty of tenure*. As we have contended for the advantages of a resident gentry, so also do we insist on the benefits of an independent class of yeomanry, united together by identity of interests, though inferior to each other in wealth and station. We attach the highest importance to the possession of property and the love of home, and we believe that of all improvers the moderate proprietor is the most valuable. The attractions of the court or the capital, the pursuits of ambition, and the allurements of pleasure, too frequently entice the higher class of country gentlemen from their estates; but the small proprietor is not assailed by such temptations. Transplanted to the metropolis or to great cities, he is lost in the crowd, and sacrifices that position which none would dispute in his rural district; besides he incurs an expense inadequate to his means, and is thus wounded both in pride and purse. He, therefore, has every inducement to remain at home, a permanent sentinel of order, ever watchful, and with the class to which he belongs, ready on the spot and at the moment to repel and put down every tendency to civil commotion. Such a yeomanry are the best friends of peace, and far more effective as its conservators than the bayonets of the soldiery, or the bludgeons of the police.

It has been contended by an influential class of political economists, that the net produce of large farms exceeds

that of moderately sized farms, and that the subdivision of the soil tends to reduce a country to the condition of a pauper warren. These statements appear to us altogether without foundation, and opposed by experience; and we therefore intend to array against them a body of authorities which ought to dispel the dangerous illusion which has led astray the judgment of statesmen, and taught them to believe that the small holdings of Ireland were the sole cause of the wretchedness of the Irish peasantry, while they have entirely overlooked the *uncertainty of the tenure*. Adam Smith indeed thought differently on this point than Mr. Macculloch, for he says that—

“A small proprietor, who knows every part of his little territory, views it with all the affection which property, especially small property, naturally inspires, and who, upon that account, takes pleasure, not only in cultivating, but adorning it, is generally of all improvers, the most industrious, the most diligent, and the most successful.”

Mr. Laing, one of the most shrewd and observant of travellers, gives us the following account of Norway :—

“In Norway the land is parcelled out into small estates, affording a comfortable subsistence, and in a moderate degree the elegancies of a civilized life, but nothing more. With a population of 910,000 inhabitants about the year 1819, there were 41,656 estates. In Norway the law of succession has prevented property from being accumulated in large masses. The estates of individuals are in general small; and the houses, furniture, food, comforts, ways and means of living among all classes appear to approach more nearly to an equality to one standard, than in any other country in Europe. This standard is far removed from any want or discomfort on the one hand, and from any luxury or display on the other. The actual partition of the land itself, seems in practice not to go below such a portion of land as will support a family comfortably, according to the habits and notions of the country; and it is indeed evident that a piece of ground without houses on it, and too small to keep a family according to the national estimation of what is requisite, would be of no value as a separate property. The heirs accordingly either sell to each other, or sell the whole to a stranger, and divide the proceeds.”

In describing the different condition of the Tuscan and Neapolitan states, the same intelligent writer, in his “Notes of Travel,” furnishes the following instructive statistics of agriculture :

"In 1836, Tuscany contained 1,436,785 inhabitants, and 130,190 landed estates. Deducting 7,901 estates belonging to towns, churches, and other corporate bodies, we have 112,289 belonging to the people—or, in other words, 48 families in every hundred have land of their own to live upon. But in the whole Maremma of Rome, of about 30 leagues in length, by 10 or 12 in breadth, M. Chateaueux reckons only 24 factors, or tenants of the large estates of the Roman nobles. From the frontier of the Neapolitan to that of the Tuscan states, the whole country is reckoned to be divided into about 600 estates."

The contrast between the physical and moral condition of the Neapolitan and Tuscan populations is most striking; the latter are frugal, industrious, and provident, while the former are reckless, lazy, and impoverished. The Tuscans live in good houses, and are well clothed; the habitations of the Neapolitans are mean and filthy, while the peasantry are clothed in sheepskins with the wool on, and notwithstanding their beautiful climate and fruitful soil, are in a lower condition than the Laplanders.

In Spain the large estates are strictly entailed, and badly cultivated; the peasantry are indolent and poor. The vast possessions are generally managed by stewards, and a middle class of agriculturists has no existence. Though the soil is everywhere fertile, it is, generally speaking, most unskillfully managed, and often abandoned to the caprice of nature. Nothing can be more painful than to behold this fine country, which rose to such a degree of prosperity under the Romans and Arabs, now so fallen, and so impoverished. The principal source of its degradation may be found in the landed monopolies, nearly the whole country being owned by large proprietors, to whose ancestors it was granted at the time of the conquest. They who preach the preservation of families and estates, and deprecate the subdivision of property, should make a journey to Andalusia, which immense province is said to belong almost entirely to the dukes of Ossuna, Alba, and Medina Cœli.

In favour of moderate farms we might appeal to Switzerland, to the Rhenish provinces, to Bavaria, to Belgium, and Holland. Indeed, Mr. Macculloch admits, "that the farms in the Pays de Waes, between Ghent and Antwerp, are cultivated with astonishing method and neatness, and afford the most perfect specimens of field culture on the principle of gardening." He further remarks, that "the

small farms between five and ten acres, which abound in many parts of Belgium, have much resemblance to the small holdings in Ireland; but while the Irish cultivator exists in a state of miserable privation of the common conveniences of civilized life, the Belgian peasant-farmer enjoys, comparatively, a great degree of comfort. His cottage is built substantially, with an upper floor for sleeping, and is kept in good repair; it has always a cellarage for the dairy, a store room for the grain, an oven, an out-house for potatoes, a roomy cattle stall, a piggery, and a loft for the poultry. The furniture is decent, the bedding amply sufficient, and an air of comfort and prosperity pervades the whole establishment." He then describes the clothing and food of these cultivators, which are ample and good, and concludes with observing that the "great superiority of the Belgian over the Irish peasant-farmer is owing, not to any advantages of soil or climate, but to a better system of cultivating, and especially to established habits of sobriety, forethought, and prudent economy."

This is not a just commentary; for we ask why is the Belgian the better cultivator of the two? why has he more sobriety and forethought? The answer is obvious; the Belgian is a *freeholder*; he tills his *own* ground, and all his improvements belong to himself; he has every motive to weed and manure, to fence and drain, because he is a proprietor. However small his stake in the country, it is solid; he can say, with honest pride, "This house is mine; that field is mine; and, when I die, the law will give them to my children." How different is the position of the unfortunate Irishman. He is but a tenant at the will of another; he has no security that he will enjoy the fruits of his exertions; if he improve the land, the rent is instantly raised; the comparison, therefore, between the Belgian and the Irish peasant-farmer is most unfair, and the conclusions of Mr. Macculloch are utterly untenable.

It is to France, however, which Mr. Macculloch prophesied in 1823, would become a "pauper warren," that we may look with confidence for a complete solution of the problem, here under examination. Fifty years have elapsed since entail and primogeniture were abolished in that country, and a law of equal succession established. In that period the population has increased by five millions of souls, and yet, on the same area of ground, these additional numbers are better fed than their ancestors were



prior to 1789. It was imagined by our political economists that the principle of partibility would split up farms into such fractional dimensions as to render culture barren of all profit, and that from age to age this evil would so accumulate as to make every man proprietor of a solitary perch, or even of less. Experience has falsified these predictions and dispelled these fears, for, as Mr. Laing has remarked of Norway, it has happened in France that "the actual partition of the land itself seems, in practice, not to go below such a portion of land as will support a family comfortably, according to the habits and notions of the country."

M. Henri Passy, who was Minister of Finance during the administration of M. Thiers, has thrown a flood of light over this vexed question, in a Memoir which he read before the French Institute in 1843. In France a tax is always levied on the land, and the *cadastre*, or state valuation of property, furnishes an official and unerring guide to the subdivision of estates. The following table shows the relation of farms to the population in the periods compared, and proves that there are practical limits to subdivision:—

Years.	Number of Properties Taxed.	Population.
1815 .....	10,083,751 .....	29,152,743
1826 .....	10,296,693 .....	31,851,545
1835 .....	10,893,528 .....	33,329,573
1842 .....	11,511,841 .....	34,376,722

On this table M. Passy makes the following comments:—

"These figures show an increase of 14 per cent, in the number of properties during the twenty-seven years that separate 1815 from 1842. This is a yearly addition of scarcely more than one-half per cent., an addition that would be unworthy of notice in case the population, on its side, had not received any augmentation. But the case is otherwise; the population, during the same period, has increased about 18 per cent.; and it follows that, instead of having multiplied beyond measure, the number of proprietors has not even followed the general movement of the population, and was, relatively to the total mass of inhabitants in France, a little less in 1842 than it was in 1815."

M. Passy has adopted another test, which equally proves that all fears of excessive subdivision are groundless. He compares various cantons which were cadastred in 1810

with the same cantons recadastréd in 1842, and the districts selected are quite dissimilar in soil and locality, which circumstance gives increased value to the inferences deduced. Their surface embraces 1,800,000 hectares, each hectare being equal to a little less than two and a-half English acres, and contains nearly a million of inhabitants; these cantons are essentially rural, including none of the great cities, and therefore furnish the most accurate and decisive evidence of the subdivisions and changes which property in land has undergone. Now, to what do these changes amount? Let us listen to the statement of M. Passy.

"First, 37 cantons, in which the cadastral operations have been completed, contain, at the present time, 163,277 proprietors. Of these there were, in 1810, 154,216, being a numerical increase of 5.7 per cent. As the total mass of inhabitants increased nearly 19 per cent, it follows that, instead of multiplying inordinately, the class of proprietors has been relatively a little diminished, and forms at the present time, the smallest part of the total population. Moreover, there are, at present, in the cantons placed in the first table, 120,000 souls more than they were in 1809 and 1810; and this augmentation of the population, necessitating the erection of at least 22,000 houses, has certainly led to the creation of several thousand new properties, and so entitles us to conclude, that property, strictly territorial, is not now divided amongst a greater number of owners, than it was thirty-two years ago. In regard to the parcels, their number has followed the same progression as the properties. In 1809 and 1810 they were found to be 1,594,874; they are now 1,688,916, which is only 5.9 per cent, more; thus affording a fresh proof of the fact that, in spite of the changes it has experienced, territorial property exists under forms that have been changed only in a very slight degree."

The evidence thus collected from various sources and various kingdoms, ought to be decisive of the superiority of small freehold estates, in which the cultivator has a permanent interest. Such a system raises the moral standard of the people, encourages industry, temperance, and prudence, represses crime, economizes the cost of soldiery and police, and reconciles those jarring and conflicting interests which ever result from excessive inequality of conditions. In England we have consolidated all the small farms, and then boast of the *surplus* produce, as if that produce, consumed by a vigorous race of happy yeomen, did not tend to the welfare of a nation as much as when carried to large towns to feed an enervated popula-

tion, living by the precarious returns of manufactures instead of the certain rewards of agriculture. Besides, the main facts upon which the sticklers for large farms rest their argument, are absolutely negatived by the experience of Tuscany, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Bavaria, the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, and France, for these countries show that the surplus produce from large farms is not greater than it would be from moderately sized farms.

— The plan that we would specially recommend to the careful consideration of the landed proprietors of Ireland has obtained in the Channel Islands for ten centuries, and with the most gratifying results. When we say that those islands sustain in comfort, upon every square mile, more than one thousand persons, while Ireland only contains about a quarter of that number, that a wandering mendicant is never seen in Guernsey, and that capital crimes are never perpetrated, we affirm enough to excite curiosity and invite examination. As the relation of landlord and tenant in those islands is but little known out of their respective bailiwicks, we shall endeavour to explain it by an example, which will sufficiently elucidate the whole system.

Suppose A possesses land valued at £1200, which he desires to *sell*, or to *give to rent*, as the phrase runs in Guernsey. The following would be the process:—A would either convey his estate to B, the purchaser, wholly in *quarters*, without receiving any cash, or, as is the more usual mode, he would receive in money one-fourth of the price, and convert the remainder into quarters. A Guernsey quarter is equivalent to £20 in local currency. In the first case, B would have to pay annually to A £60, the interest on £1200, the assumed cost of the estate, being at the rate of five per cent. per annum; in the second case, he would have to pay annually £45. The reason why it is usual to pay one-fourth of the purchase money in cash is, that such payment may be a guarantee to A that B will faithfully work the estate, and pay the rent regularly; for, should the rent fall in arrear, then A, by a process called *saisie*, may totally eject B from the property, and the £300 paid by B when the contract of tenure was passed, would be lost to him for ever. In this manner, then, is the seller or land *lord* secured in the receipt of the equivalent for which he has parted with the estate.

As soon as the contract is executed, B can perform any act that a tenant in fee-simple can perform in England. The estate thus acquired, descends to the heirs of the blood of the purchaser, lawfully begotten, and, on failure of direct issue, to his nearest of kin. Sometimes the quarters are made permanent, but most frequently they are made redeemable by certain instalments, as the buyer and seller may have agreed. Their value may be fixed at a definite sum in money, or may assume the form of a corn rent, thus fluctuating annually with the price of wheat.

We are aware of the prejudices of the great landed proprietors against such a scheme of partition; their pride revolts against parting with the land in perpetuity; but by what better mode can they extricate themselves from their degrading difficulties? How different would their situation be if they consented to adopt the system here recommended, if they sold on perpetual leases, and at full value, a part of the lands which they are too impoverished to keep in their own hands, and which, divided into small estates of ten or fifteen English acres, would render the peasant-farmers orderly and comfortable. Every year, every new improvement effected by the new proprietor would add to the security of the annual rent due to the former proprietor, who, without care or anxiety, without labour or expense, without the annoyance of middlemen, without witnessing the distress occasioned by the evictions of yearly tenants, driven from their miserable hovels, would be sure to receive a fair income from the land ceded, and would do so with the good will and the good wishes of all around him.

Compared with this system of tenure on perpetual leases, so long as the rent is paid, let us examine some of the popular remedies recently propounded for the regeneration of Ireland. The poor law stands prominently forward as a favourite panacea. Now, if parochial relief were limited to old age, to those physically incapacitated from labour, and to helpless infancy, we should at once subscribe to the principle, so limited, as a christian obligation; but when the principle is sought to be extended to the strong and healthy, willing to work but unable to find employment, we must demur to its adoption. A poor rate, in this sense, is to our minds evidence of an unjust distribution of property, which is first accumulated in the hands of a proprietary class, and then a portion is doled out by them in the

shape of charity; but had wages been higher, and accumulations less, the cause of a poor rate would not have had any existence, since the labouring man, adequately paid in the first instance, would have been self-sustaining. A poor rate merely seeks to remedy a prior wrong, and it does so very imperfectly, while it degrades the moral pride of the recipient, and thus inflicts a social injury. Raise him then from the abject state of a mere labourer, running the hazard of a precarious employment; give him land on a perpetual lease, and when you have thus created a small proprietor, you have, in his person, removed an expectant pauper, and by extending the system, you will extinguish pauperism in the sense in which we are now arguing.

Another popular remedy is emigration. To voluntary expatriation no objection can be raised; but if compulsory, it is unjust. Moreover, whence are the funds to be derived, to carry out this principle on any scale that can lead to practical results? A recent writer has forcibly shown the difficulties of this operation.\* To be effective, he considers that it would require, at least, a million of persons to be sent away. He then asks, "How is it possible to transport such a number at once? or to provide them with the means of subsistence when they have reached the port of debarkation? At the legal rate of three passengers for every five tons, it would require more than three thousand vessels of five hundred tons each. But suppose this difficulty got over, and the whole number safely landed in Canada, how great is the responsibility which it entails on the Government, that this multitude of people may be supported, and placed in some way of maintaining themselves by honest industry. It is evidently impracticable to act on so extensive a scale. But suppose them to be removed by degrees, say one-tenth, or 100,000 every year. Will such emigration have any perceptible effect? It has generally been estimated that population increases at the rate of one-and-a-half per cent. annually. If this estimate be correct, the amount of annual increase in Ireland would be about 120,000, and therefore the population would still go on increasing in spite of this emigration. The cost of such an emigration would be enormous. The estimate for cost of passage given in the Digest of Evidence above referred to, is £30 for each family, or £6 for each individual;

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\* Condition and Prospects of Ireland. By Jonathan Pim.

say, in all, £6,000,000, or £600,000 per annum. This estimate is founded on the evidence of John R. Godley, who seems also to think it essential that the emigrants should be a well selected class, comprising efficient labourers. This selection might be very useful to Canada, but would not so well serve the object of relieving Ireland. But even when properly located, a large amount would still be required for their employment and support, until they were fully in a condition to support themselves. It is much to be feared that they might consider themselves relieved from the necessity of any exertion, when they found the Government bound to maintain them."

These objections to systematic emigration, as a remedial measure, appear to us conclusive under pecuniary and industrial views. If the aged, the improvident, and the unskilful were deported, they would perish miserably on a foreign shore; if the young, the careful, the vigorous, and the skilled were sent away, Ireland would be impoverished instead of enriched by the operation, for she would lose the prime element of her strength, that real capital which resides in the brain and muscle of an intelligent and robust labourer. Besides, what greater folly can be committed than deporting an industrial army to reclaim the lands of Canada or Australia, when the fields of Ireland are not half cultivated, and millions of acres, susceptible of improvement, are in a state of complete sterility? If, therefore, funds were raised for emigration, we would strongly advise that they should be diverted from that purpose, and applied to home colonization and the reclamation of bogs and wastes. Experience teaches us the wisdom of such a system, as its usefulness has been tested by the allotment of small portions of land to agricultural labourers in England with the most encouraging success. Mrs. Davies Gilbert, and Captain Scobell, have given the plan a fair trial. Mrs. Gilbert has 443 allotment tenants in Sussex, and, in the course of thirteen years, only one of them was convicted of crime; and the rents are always paid with punctuality. In the parish of Hadlow, in Kent, there were thirty-five commitments in 1835; but on the allotment system being introduced in 1836, the commitments were reduced in 1837 to one, and in the following six years there was but a single solitary case in the whole of that period. Similar moral results have arisen in every district where the experiment has been tried.



As a general rule, the size of the allotment ought not to exceed what the allottee and his family can fully cultivate. According to Captain Scobell, the *maximum* of a holding should range from 50 to 60 rods, while 20 rods may be considered as the *minimum*. The following are the dimensions of Mrs. Davies Gilbert's allotments: two hundred and fifty-five, less than a quarter of an acre; one hundred and eight, quarter acres; two containing 60 rods each; thirteen are half acres; two are three-quarter acres; twenty-two are of one acre each; and sixteen others contain two, four, and five acres; and one includes nine acres. The pecuniary results of the system are thus stated in an able publication :\*

" Captain Scobell estimates the average value of an allotment at 2s. per week, or about 5£ per annum, and that, during the year, twenty days' labour is required. The profit is equal to ten weeks' labour at wages of 10s. per week. According to another estimate, the gross profit of half an acre is calculated at 19£. The produce consists of twelve bushels of wheat at 7s.; and six hundred weight of bacon at 6d. per lb.; and something is set down as the value of the straw. The rent, seed, and other expenses, it is said, will amount to 3£ 10s., leaving a profit (without deducting the value of the labour) of 15£ 10s., which is equal to 6s. a-week for the whole year. Such an allotment as the one here alluded to, will require about 30 days' labour in the course of a year; but it is necessary that the chief part of this labour should be given between Lady-Day and Michaelmas. Suppose that there are a million of families in England and Wales, who are in the same circumstances as the tenants of existing allotments, and that four families had an acre amongst them, the whole quantity of land in allotments would be 250,000 acres, or nearly 400 square miles, which is one-third more than the area of Middlesex, and about the 128th part of the area of England. This would be about one forty-third of the arable land in England. At three guineas an acre, the rent would amount to 787,500£, and the value of the produce, according to Captain Scobell, would be about 5,000,000£.

Reverting now to the fundamental position we laid down at the commencement of these remarks, that, in the absence of manufactures, the great body of the Irish people must necessarily be subsisted by agricultural labour, we may briefly recapitulate those forms in which rural industry would manifest its presence. Firstly, by the sale

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\* Knight's Political Dictionary. Article, Allotment.

and division of encumbered estates, we should introduce a resident proprietary, whose means would enable them to improve their lands, and extinguish the class of middlemen. From their personal vigilance and judicious application of capital, the soil would be cultivated to its full capacity, and the produce increased at least threefold. Their example and habits of life could not fail to elevate the condition of the people by whom they were surrounded, and as in the cases cited of Mr. Foster, and Lords Headley and Hill, a complete social and moral reformation might with confidence be anticipated. Secondly, next in the scale below the resident gentry, would be found the class of peasant-farmers, holding their lands on perpetual leases, so long as they paid their stipulated rent, and who could only be evicted through their own bad conduct and the neglect of those duties which they owed to themselves, their families, and society. They would become an effective race of improvers, introducing a better style of houses and dress, habits of thrift and perseverance, and they would take a pride in keeping their farm buildings and fences in the best condition. Thirdly, if the resident gentry, whose larger estates would require agricultural labourers receiving wages, were to grant to those labourers small allotments, this class, gradually accustomed to the sweets of property through this qualified form of possession, would quickly aspire to the rank of peasant-farmers, would save for that object, and, in most cases, would succeed in their honourable aspirations. Thus all would be working for themselves with a definite purpose, and where despair now rules, hope would reign. To use the beautiful language of the Rev. J. H. Mules, who has strongly recommended the allotment system,—

“The discordant elements of society would thereby become purified by this salutary admixture. Its several classes, weak in their division, and hostile, as separate from each other, would, as they were drawn together in the bonds of mutual interest and affection, become indissoluble; not only, as the fabled bundle of sticks, would they remain united and unbroken, but each, like the rod of Aaron, would again branch forth, and blossom into all the charities and virtues of domestic and social life. Then, indeed, the different ranks of society, instead of so many steps of a dungeon, would, like Jacob's ladder, seem reaching up to Heaven, and the angels of mercy and gratitude would be seen ascending and descending thereon for ever.”

There is a view of Irish affairs, as they at present exist, which must not be overlooked, the more especially as a comparison between what we now behold, and the results we anticipate from the system recommended, will give additional strength to our arguments. The produce of Ireland is very largely exported to English markets, and there sold, the proceeds being handed over to mortgagees, Insurance Companies, and absentee proprietors. The people starve, while the food raised by their labour is exported. Their wages are so miserably low, that they cannot purchase what they have created, which is the strongest possible evidence of imperfect distribution, itself a most crying injustice. Now there are only two modes in which this evil can be cured. Either wages in Ireland must be raised as high as wages in England, which would enable the Irishman to buy the produce of his own country, or the price of food must be kept down to the scale of wages, when the same result would follow. The former is the wiser plan, and we believe it would be one of the consequences of the general system we have advocated; the latter would require an act of parliament to prohibit exports, which would provoke the hostility of those who are the patrons of free trade.

We are inclined to attach very great importance to the dietary of nations. In the scale of living we possess a tolerably accurate index of the ratio of civilization. The food of the savage is precarious, depending on the success of his hunting and fishing excursions, and the nearer any people approach to that condition, the more closely do they approximate to semi-barbarism. When a man, able and willing to work, but unable to procure employment, is driven to feed on roots and sea-weed, as has been the case in Ireland, his position is far lower than that of the savage, who is free to seize game ranging through woods and fields, which are common property. The Irish labourer sees all the land occupied, and while he knows that his industry has fertilized the soil, he beholds its produce carried to the coast and shipped to England. This is a cruel aggravation of his misfortunes; for though the earth is bounteous, he is the victim of scarcity and famine. If, in despair, he yields to these adverse circumstances, and becomes reconciled to them through habit, he must inevitably sink in self-respect and moral independence, for he vegetates rather than lives; on the contrary, if the spirit

of manhood is not altogether dead in him, he will violate the laws by which he is oppressed, and endeavour to avenge himself by strong hand. In the one case we have a nation of abject slaves; in the other, of agitators and rebels.

The dietary of nations influences their population, and, in a manner, the reverse of what might be expected from superficial views. Mr. Doubleday, in his "*True Law of Population*," has propounded a theory, based on the admission of medical and physiological authorities, and corroborated by past and present experience, which affirms "that populations are universally found thin in pastoral countries, where the food is animal food chiefly; denser where it is mixed partly with vegetable elements; denser still where it is vegetable only, but with plenty; densest of all where it is vegetable, but with scarcity superadded." The general law on which this theory is founded seems to be, that whenever the existence of a species or genus is endangered, Nature invariably makes a strong conservative effort for its preservation and continuance; and the great general inference from that law is, that in the plethoric state productiveness is arrested, while in the deplethoric state it is re-invigorated. Thus, excessive manuring destroys plants, and pampered living produces disease and premature death in man.

Observation and experience attest the truth of these principles. The dietary of the people in China, India, and Japan, where religion prohibits the use of animal food, is of the lowest kind, chiefly rice; in those countries we find the population denser to the square mile than in any other kingdom. Throughout the pastoral districts of Russia, where vast numbers of cattle are reared for the value of the tallow, hides, and leather, butcher's meat is a drug; all consume it, and the population is the thinnest in the world. In Poland, France, Italy, Belgium and Holland, the diet is of a mixed nature, both animal and vegetable, and there the population is moderately dense. The potato in Ireland, as rice in Eastern climes, is accompanied by a very crowded population, and a rapid tendency to increase. The true remedy, then, for excessive numbers, is an ample supply of nutritious food. In this dispensation we piously recognize the justice and benevolence of Deity; for if individuals monopolize the produce of the earth, they are punished by the invasions of pauperism on their property, and the extinction of their own families. Under these views

society may be divided into three distinct classes: the worst dieted, the moderately dieted, and the superfluously dieted. "Hence it follows," to quote the words of Mr. Doubleday, "that it is upon the numerical proportions which these three states bear to each other in any community, that increase or decrease on the whole depends."

This doctrine bears so strangely on the case of Ireland, that we shall offer no apology for dwelling upon it at greater length. Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Hydriotophia*, alluding to the decay of the rich, says, "old families last not three oaks." Mr. Doubleday proves, that had not new creations been constantly effected, both the Peerage and Baronetage of England would, ere this, have been nearly extinguished. His estimates are computed from 1760 to 1837; but had he continued them to the present time, his case would have been strengthened. His table for the Peerage stands thus:—

The number of Peers in 1837.				Number created since 1760.			
Dukes	..	...	21	Dukes	...	...	5
Marquises	...	...	19	Marquises	...	...	18
Earls	...	...	108	Earls	...	...	58
Viscounts	...	...	17	Viscounts	..	...	13
Barons	...	...	185	Barons	...	...	153
Scottish Peers	...	...	16	Scottish & Irish Peers	...	...	25
Irish Peers	...	...	28	272 created since 1760 up to 1837.			
Total	...	...	394				

The decay of the Baronetage has been even more remarkable than that of the Peerage. The order was created in 1611 by James the First. It was put up to sale, and realized a round sum of money. The results are thus stated by Mr. Doubleday:—

"Since the creation of the order of Baronets, in 1611, 753 Baronetcies have become extinct. In short, the number of extinct Baronets are more, *in toto*, than the existing Baronets, up to the year 1819, when the Baronets were 635 only. From 1611 to 1819, 139 Baronets had been raised to the Peerage, and thus taken out of the list of Baronets. Still, supposing all those Peerages to be now existing, which is not the case, this would only make the whole number, including those made Peers, 774; that is to say, the living Baronets, and Baronet Peers would, in that case, only exceed the extinct Baronets by twenty-one. Thus it is evident that but for perpetual new creations, we should hardly have had a Baronet existing. Of James the First's creations, in 1611, only thirteen families now remain. Of all he created up to 1625, the

year of his death, only thirty-nine remain,—a decay certainly extraordinary, and not to be accounted for upon the ordinary ideas of mortality and power of increase among mankind.”

This view of the law of population deserves the earnest attention of professed politicians, on account of its social bearings and influences. It furnishes the most powerful argument against the culture of the potato as the staple food of the Irish peasantry; and they who believe that the destinies of nations are ruled by the Hand of Providence must conclude, that since it is an appointed law that the worst dieted people shall become the most numerous, compared with the area of territory on which they live, the malediction of Heaven visits the injustice of the rich against the poor through a process which human ingenuity cannot evade. This law teaches us that we cannot starve off a redundant population, since nature will make redoubled efforts to keep up the race through the invigorated fecundity of the survivors; nor could we succeed in so cruel a design, even by the horrors of famine; we can only permanently thin our numbers by the progressive diminution of births, and this is to be effected by raising the standard of living, and dieting the people on beef, pork, and mutton. Humanity, ever allied with justice and true religion, prompts us strongly to enforce this argument, and let none think lightly of it because it is not popularized, since every thing now old once was new; and it is our destiny to progress from bad to better, from error to truth, whatever checks and hindrances may temporarily obstruct the march of society. Let then the food of Ireland, raised on Irish soil by Irish labour, be consumed by the Irish people; and let none of it be exported till every man, woman, and child have as much as they require.

We stated at the commencement of this article that there were 6,295,735 acres of land in Ireland uncultivated. Here we possess a mine of wealth to be worked by Irish industry, either by large capitalists or by peasant-farmers. Why are these vast tracts of land permitted to lie unproductive? The common answer is, because there is no money to set plough or spade into activity. But what is money? If it consists solely in a foreign metal, in gold or silver, then indeed the case is hopeless; but is it really true that the free industry of Ireland shall rot in uselessness, unless the slaves of South America, or the serfs of



Siberia first provide the material by which it can subdue the earth and make it fruitful, so that the people may earn their bread in the sweat of their brows? To so disheartening a conclusion we cannot arrive. There must obviously be some delusion about this matter. Certainly the earth was cultivated before gold or silver were discovered, and a long period must have elapsed before they were weighed, assayed, stamped, coined, and clothed with the conventional attributes of monied instruments of exchange. Surely generations lived by agricultural labour before a mint was established, and what once was effected may again be effected. We will not go back to remote antiquity, but appeal to North America, while yet it was a British colony. Thus writes David Hume, the historian, to the Abbé Morellet:—

“In our colony of Pennsylvania, the land itself, which is the chief commodity, is coined and passes into circulation. A planter, immediately after he purchases any land, can go to a public office, and receive rents to the amount of half the value of his land, which notes he employs in all payments, and they circulate through the colony by convention. To prevent the public being overwhelmed by this representative money, there are two means employed; firstly, the notes issued to any one planter must not exceed a certain sum, whatever may be the value of his land; secondly, every planter is obliged to pay back into the public office every year one-tenth of his notes. The whole of course is annihilated in ten years; after which it is again allowed him to take out new notes to half the value of his land.”

Here, then, we have positive evidence that the land of North America was brought into cultivation without the intervention of gold and silver; and if paper could clothe its prairies with vegetation, it is difficult to see why it should fail to reclaim the bogs of Ireland from barrenness. To the same effect as David Hume, writes Dr. Franklin. In 1764, before the Stamp Act was proposed in Parliament, (which was passed the next year, and repealed in the following year,) Dr. Franklin being then in England, published the following vindication of paper money:—

“On the whole no method has hitherto been framed to establish a medium of trade in lieu of money, equal in all its advantages to bills of credit, founded on sufficient taxes for discharging them, or on land security of double the value for repaying it at the end of the term, and in the mean time made a *general legal tender*.

The experience of now nearly half a century in the middle colonies, (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania) has convinced them of it among themselves by the great increase of their settlements, numbers, buildings, improvements, agriculture, shipping, and commerce. The same experience has satisfied the British merchants who trade thither, that it has been greatly useful to them, and not in a single instance prejudicial. It is, therefore, hoped that securing the full discharge of British debts which are payable here, and in all justice and reason ought to be discharged here (in England) in sterling money, the restraint on the legal tender within the colonies will be taken off, at least for those colonies who desire it, and where the merchants trading to them make no objection."

This hope was disappointed, and England lost her colony, receiving in exchange a large addition to her national debt, as a permanent memorial of her injustice and defeat. The Americans had not gold or silver, but they had land which they desired to cultivate, and trade which they were anxious to extend. Neither could be accomplished on the absurd conditions dictated by England; so in order to live, colonists undertook the war of independence and triumphed. Their descendants are now enabled to feed us from the very soil which the British government forbade to be tilled, unless with golden ploughs and silver harrows.

In the extract cited from Dr. Franklin's correspondence, it will be observed that he simply asked for legal paper tenders "for those colonies that desire it, and where the merchants trading to them make no objection." Now this is all we ask for Ireland. We presume that its inhabitants desire to augment their wealth by agriculture, either by improving land already cultivated, or by reclaiming that which is waste. But they who will the end, must will the means, or failure will follow upon their inconsistency. If gold and silver be the conditions precedent to ploughing, draining, and fencing, those operations cannot be performed, and the end will be missed for want of the means. Ireland, therefore has no alternative but to follow the example of Pennsylvanian colonists, as explained by David Hume, and create the reality by the use of the symbol. She must learn that money is the sign, not the thing signified, the representative of wealth, not wealth itself, not condensing any labour, but the instrument by which labour may be developed into productive activity and usefulness. Symbolic money bears somewhat the

same relation to industry, that the whetstone does to the knife; it sharpens it and draws forth its valuable qualities, which would otherwise remain blunt and ineffective. It will drain the bogs of Ireland, and clothe them with the luxuriance of vegetation.

We claim, then, for Ireland a monetary system of its own, suited to its own necessities, independent and irrespective of the monetary system of Great Britain. Let Ireland learn practical wisdom from the spider. It spins its web, source of its food, from its own body. Its power is intrinsic, not extrinsic. So should it be with Ireland. Its soil is its web, and needs no golden filaments wrought by the slave miners of Mexico or the Altai mountains, and sold, at a famine rate, by the usurers of the London Stock Exchange and of Lombard Street. If the mortgaged land is a good security to Insurance Companies, on which they lend money, it is a good security out of which money can be created without the intervention of those companies. What, though Irish paper money, guaranteed by Irish acres, should not command a single ounce of gold or silver, would it be worthless on that account? Certainly not, unless fertilizing the soil, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, educating the ignorant, developing industry, and raising eight millions of people to happiness and independence, be a worthless undertaking; and that paper money would produce these results, the testimony of Dr. Franklin establishes.

It would also operate as a tax on absentees from which they could not escape. As matters now stand, every paper pound is convertible into 5 dwts. 3 grains of gold of a certain fineness on the demand of the holder. We would free the national paper pound of Ireland from this obligation, and allow it to exchange for gold at the market price of that metal. In the payment of taxes into the Irish Exchequer, it would always pass as a pound of internal currency, no matter what its price might be in reference to the commodity, gold. Now if a rent receiver chose to live in England, he would have such pounds remitted to him, and by as much as they were inferior in purchasing power to 5 dwts. 3 grains of gold, by that amount would he be taxed as an absentee. To make the case clearer, let us suppose that the Irish rental of such an individual was 1,000£ per annum, and that his share of local taxation was twenty per cent. Then every pound remitted to England

would be excised one-fifth, that is to say, each paper pound would only buy 4 dwts. of gold instead of 5 dwts. of gold in London, because one dwt. would be due to Irish taxation; so that the Irish rental of 1,000£ would be reduced to 800£ in England. From this tax no absentee could escape, to whatever ingenuity he might resort. If he remained at home, he would enjoy the full benefit of his income.

Our task is now completed, but we are quite conscious of having left a wide field of inquiry untouched and unemployed. Our purpose has been to enumerate such remedial measures as would extend and improve the sphere of Irish agriculture, the true source of its permanent and progressive wealth, since the soil must feed a population who cannot retreat to established manufactures. We are well aware that no single remedy can regenerate Ireland, for her evils are manifold and are ramified in various directions. We might have advocated the prosecution of the fisheries, the formation of railways, and dwelt on the advantages of cultivating flax for the English looms. The imperfect state of municipal corporations might have furnished ample materials for commentary; and above all, we might have protested against the most hateful of all taxes, the taxes on conscience, which are levied on the vast majority of the people for the support of an intrusive and alien establishment, a pseudo-church established by act of parliament. But so extended a review would have far exceeded our space. Our object has been to work upwards from the humblest classes, for whose welfare the Catholic clergy have ever shown the most lively solicitude. We have unbounded confidence in the energies of Irish labour, if it be secure of its reward; and when agricultural industry, through the system of perpetual leases at fixed rents, is clothed with the rights of landed proprietorship, Ireland will prosper, agrarian outrage will cease, and peace, order, and christian fellowship, will bless the country and its inhabitants.

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- ART. VI.—1. *The Men of Letters and Science, who flourished in the Times of George III.* By HENRY LORD BROUGHAM. Article, EDWARD GIBBON. Charles Knight, 1845.
- 2.—*The Life of Edward Gibbon, Esq., with Selections from his Correspondence, and Illustrations.* By the Rev. H. H. MILMAN. 8vo. Murray, 1839.
- 3.—*Notice sur la Vie et le Caractère de M. Gibbon.* Par M. F. GUIZOT, (The late French Minister). Paris: Maradan, 1812, and Ledentu, 1829.
- 4.—*Memoir of Edward Gibbon, &c.* By WILLIAM YOUNGMAN. 8vo., London: Robinson, 1830.

**A**UTOBIOGRAPHY, or the writer's narrative of his own life, though not the most faithful, is still perhaps the most attractive in this line of composition. It is usually, too, the seductive occupation of advanced and vacant years, when retirement necessarily succeeds the expired powers of action, and age complacently indulges the fond retrospect of a past course of fame and honour.

“Ampliat ætatis spatium sibi vir bonus : Hoc est Vivere bis, vitâ posse priore frui.”—Martial, x. 23.

We find it, consequently, sanctioned by the example of antiquity; for we learn from Tacitus that many distinguished personages of his own and previous times hesitated not to become their own biographers, without encountering censure or disbelief, proving, as the historian remarks, that the periods most fertile in merit are also the most competent to appreciate it. Of authors, however, by profession, and of the generally eventless tenor of literary life, it has been often observed, that the history of a writer is best viewed in his works; nor perhaps is there much in Gibbon's career to exempt him from the application of this remark. Indeed, every circumstance external to his studies or their fruits might be comprised in a few pages, as in the self-biographies of his predecessors, De Thou and Hume, though both had filled public stations involving active duties. Yet, who repines at the larger scope of Gibbon's volume, or would without reluctance retrench the details that have imparted such attraction to it? Goldsmith prefaces his English history with an expression of regret,

that in abridging Hume, he scarcely cut off a line that did not contain a beauty; and a similar effect must surely attend every effort to curtail or remodify, with some characteristic reserves, this most interesting recital of an author's acts and feelings. His editor, the Rev. Mr. Milman,\* asserts, "that the admirable manner in which Gibbon executed this sketch of his life, as well as the total deficiency of materials for a new biography, altogether preclude the attempt to recompose it." And doubtless, inconsiderable must be the gleanings which now remain wherewith to fill up any discernible vacancy in a work proceeding from the most authentic source, and apparently complete in all its parts. Still some facts may have been left dubious or obscure, and still demanding elucidation; and many of the author's views may well be supposed, from their known tendency, to require animadversion. It is in the hope, in some degree, of effecting these purposes, that we venture on an undertaking otherwise little called-for, which, in its process, will necessarily involve a continued reference to the biography. We shall thus succinctly present to the reader its general contents: to these,

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\* No Catholic, we believe, will disavow this gentleman's definition of the homage due to the Blessed Virgin, as expressed in his beautiful hymn:—

" Mary ! we yield to thee,

All but idolatry !

We gaze, admire and wonder, love and bless :

Pure, blameless, holy, every praise be thine,

All honour save thy Son's, all glory but divine !"

Scarcely, indeed, can a great artist be named who has not exercised his talents with marked predilection on some delineation of this holiest of human creatures. M. Delacroix, a distinguished French painter, exhibited at a late "Louvre exposition," an admired representation of Margaret (Gretchen) kneeling before the image of the "Mater Dolorosa," so impressively portrayed by Goëthe, in his "Faust."—p. 222, Stuttgardt, 1825. The poet Novalis, in a similar strain of inspired veneration for the Mother of God, (*Schriften—Erster Bande*, Berlin, 1814.) unconsciously perhaps, but accurately, repeats the catholic belief, in a hymn which, like Mr. Milman's, so felicitously harmonizes with those which form that graceful wreath, "The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin"—justly eulogized in this Review, (No. XLV.)—that, interwoven with them, these would appear of kindred origin, sprung from the same source, and dictated by the same spirit. Would that Mr. Milman had ever written in this spirit !



we are bound to say, Lord Brougham has added no new facts, nor have his critical remarks altogether answered the public expectation, though occasionally sagacious and acute. The two minor and less pretending memoirs require no special notice, though, more particularly the French one, (whose author has had so deeply to regret the abandonment of his literary for ministerial life,) not without their distinctive value.

Gibbon commences his narrative with a cursory notice of his numerous precursors in this fond theme of personal story and reminiscence. \*

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\* Yet many are omitted, some, too, entitled to notice, such as Cardan, whose volume, "*De Vita Propria*," is one of the most singular productions of that eccentric being, or, indeed, of the age. Others, like Montaigne, without professing the design, and as if by the incidental escape of thought, have disclosed their acts and sentiments, revealing, with unreserved exposure, their failings, while through this veil of candour it is not difficult to discern an under-current of vanity, which dictates so many awowals of errings in order to obtain credit for overbalancing virtues, as exhausted libertines affect concern for past trespasses, as a cloak for vaunting their early successes. Montaigne and Rousseau wrote for the public eye, and dissemble not their thoughts, though surely not in humility of contrition. The quaint Gascon even exaggerated his imperfections, as shown by Paschal, (*Pensées Détachées*, IX.) in the complaint of a defective memory, also noticed in the *Port-Royal Logic*, (Chap. IX.) and by the Benedictine, Dom. Devienne, in the history of Bordeaux, (page 123.) Of memory the old philosopher (*Essays*, livre i., chap. 9.) positively affirms almost a total privation.—"Je n'en reconnais, quasi trace en moi," while every page of his book, "*livre de bonne foy*," though he call it, teems with evidence of the contrary, in his ever recurring quotations, which may be counted by hundreds in various languages, and that, too, when facilities of reference were by no means so accessible or abundant as they now, through divers channels, have become. And the eloquent Genevese, who, like Pascal, La Rochefoucaults, La Bruyère, &c., owes so much to Montaigne for apparently original ideas and classical authorities, of which he seldom acknowledges the intermediate source, not only courted the world's favour in his guilty disclosures, but arrogantly declared that his book of shame would be his best recommendation at the great last day! "*Que la trompette du jugement dernier sonne quand elle voudra, je viendrai, ce livre à la main, me présenter devant le souverain juge.*" In accord with this confident anticipa-

Some pages are then devoted to his genealogy, a subject, which though assimilated to fable by Chamfort, is nevertheless so natural, and presents so many claims on our feelings or curiosity, that neither ridicule nor argument is likely to extinguish the desire for an honourable, or the reverence for an illustrious pedigree.—“*Cui sine luce numen surdumque parentum nomen?*” Of Gibbon’s family, however, we need only say, that it was respectable, and, as he expresses it at the close of his biography, he had altogether drawn a high prize in the lottery of life.

Born on the 8th of May, (N. S.,) he was delicately constituted, and until he had reached his fifteenth year, was more or less afflicted with recurring sickness. Never, he says, did he possess or enjoy the insolence of health; (no very correct phrase, by the way; for how could he enjoy what he never possessed?) After some irregular tuition at home, he was sent to Oxford before he had completed his fifteenth year, and arrived there “with a stock of erudition that might have puzzled a doctor, and a degree of ignorance of which a schoolboy would have been ashamed.” His description of England’s first University is anything but creditable to the institution, in a moral or instructive sense; and in this unfavourable representation he is confirmed by Adam Smith, after a residence there of some years. To the University of Oxford he emphatically denies all obligation. “I spent fourteen months at Magdalen College,” he states: “they proved the fourteen months the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life. From the toil of reading, or thinking, or writing, the fellows, or monks, both of Oxford and Cambridge, had absolved their conscience; and the first shoots of learning and ingenuity withered on the ground, without yielding any fruits to the owner or the public.” Lord Brougham opposes to this repulsive picture, the subsequently improved state of the University, when it produced the Hollands, the Cannings, the Carlises, the Wards, and the Peels, under such profes-

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tion, well may we repeat from the impressive hymn of the Catholic Church—the pathetic “*Dies Iræ* :”—

“*Liber scriptus proferetur,  
In quo totum continetur,  
Unde Rousseau judicetur.*”

sors as Jackson, Coplestone, &c. Nor does Cambridge, now the Alma Mater of the Aireys, the Herschels, and the Adams, resemble the Cambridge in which Playfair could lament, as he with justice did forty years ago, in the *Edinburgh Review*, that the *Mécanique Céleste* of La Place could no longer find a reader in the haunts where Newton once taught, and where his name was since only known.

Gibbon, in one of the College vacations, while resident with his father at Buriton, in Hampshire, undertook to write a book, which he entitled the *Age of Sesostris*, in imitation of Voltaire's *Age of Louis XIV.*, then a recent publication; but the boyish project was soon abandoned. Lord Brougham, by a strange oversight, has transformed the title into the *Age of Socrates*, which can hardly be imputed to the press, nor is it in the "Corrigenda." But an event that occurred while Gibbon was still at Oxford, produced and justified considerable sensation. This was his conversion to the Catholic faith—an act then legally fatal both to the neophyte and proselytizer—under the unrepealed statute, which he quotes from Blackstone's fourth book and chapter. It is there stated, "that where a person is reconciled to the Church of Rome, or procures others to be reconciled, the offence amounts to high treason," with its consequent barbarous penalties, so often referred to by us, yet not too often, in flagrant demonstration of Anglican intolerance. Dr. Conyers Middleton's "*Inquiry into the Miracles of the Early Ages of the Church*," published in 1749, created doubts in Gibbon's mind, which, he felt, could receive no satisfactory solution, except in the belief of an indefectible doctrine, and a church, as described by Schiller in his '*Maria Stuart*' (Act v. sc. 7.):

"Die Kirche ist, die heilige, die höhe,  
Die zu dem Himmel uns die Leiter baut,  
Die Allgemeine, die Kathol' sche heisst sie."

On this Gibbon repeats Dryden's powerful delineation of a fluctuating creed:—

"To take up half on trust, and half to try,  
Name it not faith, but bungling bigotry."  
Hind and Panther, v. 141-2.

"I was unable," he adds, "to resist the weight of historical evidence, that within the period of acknowledged miracles by the Pro-

testant church, most of the leading doctrines of Popery were already introduced in theory and practice ; nor was my conclusion absurd, that miracles are the test of truth, and that the church must be orthodox and pure, which was so often approved by the visible interposition of the Deity. The English translations of the two famous works of Bossuet, the 'Exposition of the Catholic Doctrine,' and the 'History of the Protestant Variations,' achieved my conversion ; and I surely fell by a noble hand."

He told Lord Sheffield, however, that the arguments of Robert Persons had the chief influence on his mind ; and England then scarcely possessed a nobler work than that Jesuit's "Three Conversions," associated especially with Cardinal Allen's various labours in the same field of controversy.

Resolved to profess the religion he had embraced, Gibbon was received into the church by a Jesuit Father, named Baker, one of the Sardinian Ambassador's chaplains ; for no member of a monastic order could, without fatal consequences, then reside in England, unless under foreign protection. He had been introduced to this gentleman by a Mr. Lewis, a bookseller, who was summoned on the occasion before the Privy Council, but, it would appear, without any penal result. Chillingworth and Bayle, temporary proselytes like Gibbon, are here noticed by him. The former yielded to the arguments, as we learn from himself, of the Jesuit Fisher, (or rather Perse, according to Southwell's "*Scriptores Societatis Jesu*," p. 429,) but he quickly retracted, and, though promoted to rich benefices, the seductive bait, we may believe, of his relapse, he is supposed, and so Gibbon gives to understand also, to have subsided in Pyrrhonism, or general doubt and indifference ; but Bayle's example is in clearer analogy with Gibbon's eventual and continued infidelity. It would, we apprehend, be hard to define the ultimate sentiments of the late Blanco White, "one of those fickle changelings," to use Shakspeare's phrase, and fleeting triumphs of the Anglican communion.

For the purpose of counteracting this change, Gibbon was hurried to Lausanne, and committed to the charge of a Calvinist minister, a Mr. Pavillard (not Pavilliard, as from unacquaintance with French pronunciation, the name is written by Mr. Milman and Lord Brougham,) and with whom he remained from July 1753 to April 1758. His newly adopted creed, after some struggle, gradually gave way, to end, as

his history unhappily shows, in the malignant aspersion of christianity; but he diligently pursued a comprehensive sphere of study, which laid the foundation of his extensive acquirements, and then, too, ensured the lasting friendship of George Deyverdun, a native of the place, and not more than two years the senior of Gibbon, whose associate he became in various literary enterprises. He also engaged in correspondence with some learned men, and proposed to Cr vier, the editor of *Livy*, a new reading for a passage in the Roman historian, (lib. xxx. 44.) which elucidated what was obscure in Hannibal's speech to his fellow-citizens after the disaster of Zama, but which, though approved of by Cr vier, has not been introduced into his subsequent editions. Gibbon just had a view of Voltaire, "*Virgilium vidi tantum*," he states, as Pope, in his letter to Wycherly, says he had of Dryden, and as Scott had of Burns; a trite quotation, we may passingly observe, seldom traced to its origin in Ovid, (*De Tristibus*, lib. iv. *Eleg. x.*) or correctly given. There, too, he became enamoured of Mademoiselle Curchod, the future distinguished wife of Necker, whose personal attractions, virtues, and accomplishments, were alike the objects of his admiration. "At Cressy, her father's residence, and at Lausanne, I passed," he says, "some happy days. Her parents honourably encouraged the connection; and I might presume to hope that I had made some impression on a virtuous heart." That he did so, indeed, is apparent from a letter of Rousseau to M. Moulton, the 4th of June, 1763, when Gibbon renewed his addresses, but, according to Rousseau, causelessly abandoned his suit, and deserted her. His father, however, he asserts, "would not hearken to so strange an alliance; and to prevent it, had, on its original intimation, recalled him to England. "Without his help," pursues Gibbon, "I was myself desolate and helpless; and, after a painful struggle, I yielded to my fate."

Lord Brougham, probably misled by George Colman, represents Gibbon during the courtship as falling on his knees before the young lady, but, from the weakness of his limbs, unable to rise. The story, however, is here wholly misapplied in time and person; for he was then light of frame, and perfectly capable of ordinary movement. It was not thus, therefore, in his youth, but full thirty years after that the occurrence took place; nor with Susan Curchod, but with Lady Elizabeth Forster, daughter of

the episcopal Earl of Bristol, and subsequently Duchess of Devonshire. The relator of the anecdote is the Chevalier Artaud de Montor, most advantageously known by his lives of the Pontiffs, Pius VII., and Pius VIII., who derived it from Lady Elizabeth's personal communication. "C'est de sa bouche même que l'a entendue l'auteur," is his assertion. While her first husband still lived, she accompanied her predecessor in the ducal title, the present duke of Devonshire's mother,\* on a continental tour, and

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\* A little anecdote, scarcely, if at all known, of this celebrated lady's literary attempts, may here be not misplaced. To a copy of her poem, so lauded by Coleridge, on the "Passage of Mount Gothard," (after quitting Lausanne), presented to the French poet, Delille, she prefixed the following lines in his language :

" Vous dont la lyre enchanteresse,  
Unit la force à la douceur ;  
De la nature amant flatteur,  
Vous qui l'embellissez sans cesse,  
J'ose vous offrir, en tremblant,  
De l'humble pré la fleur nouvelle ;  
Je la voudrais immortelle,  
Si vous acceptez le présent."

Delille, who had translated the English poem, seemed not aware, nor apparently was M. Suard, who gives these verses in a sketch of the duchess's life, that the last four lines express a thought obviously borrowed from St. Sorlin's madrigal, forming one, and the most admired, of the sixteen which constitute the poetic portion of the famous "Guirlande de Julie," or homage offered to Julie d'Angennes, by her future husband, the Duke of Montausier. These madrigals were subjoined, in the exquisite penmanship of N. Jarry, to flowers painted by Robert; and Sorlet's on the *Violet*, was as follows :

" Modeste en ma couleur, modeste en mon séjour,  
Franche d'ambition, je me cache sous l'herbe ;  
Mais, si sur votre front je puis me voir un jour,  
La plus humble des fleurs sera la plus superbe."

\* This beautiful work of the painter and penman, produced at the sale of the Duke de la Vallière's library, in 1783, the sum of 14,510 livres, equal at the exchange of that time to £600, being more than any volume had ever before fetched at auction. It was purchased by the Duchess of Châtillon, a descendant of the Duke and Duchess of Montausier. In her letter of 1st September, 1680, Madame de Sévigné refers to the madrigal, on comparing the humble Madame de la Vallière to the proud De Fontanges, two of



stopped some time, in June 1787, at Lausanne, where Gibbon formed a frequent and welcome addition to their society. Attractive in person, yet under thirty years of age, and fascinating in manner, while utterly unsuspecting of all amorous pretensions in a person of his mature years, ungainly form, and love repelling aspect, she checked not the exuberance of her admiration of his genius. But she had deeply impressed his imagination; and one morning, just as he had terminated his elaborate enterprise, and felt elated with the achievement, as he so glowingly

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Louis XIV's numerous favourites, but most distinct in character—the one, “la belle beauté,” in Madame de Sévigné's emphatic designation, exulting in her elevated depravity—the other, “la petite violette,” still abashed in penitent recollection of her temporary erring, repaired, we may trust, by her deep contrition, of which, adds Madame de Sévigné, no future example can be expected—“Jamais il n'y en aura sur ce moule.” This incidental advertence to plagiarism recalls to our mind two signal instances, which, though not in direct connection with our subject, may yet claim insertion in this Journal from their Catholic association; nor do we believe that, except by ourselves, have they ever been published. The ensuing one is obvious, though, under the circumstances, difficult of avowal:—Des Barreaux, who died in 1672, had been one of the most profligate and audaciously impious men of his time; but, finally struck with repentance, he composed the celebrated sonnet beginning with “Grand Dieu! tes jugemens sont remplis d'équité,” &c.; and concluding with

“J'adore en périssant la raison qui t'aigrir :

Tonne, frappe, il est temps, rends moi guerre pour guerre ;

Mais dessus quel endroit tombera-t-on tonnèrre,

Qui ne soit tout convert du sang de Jésus-Christ ?”

The two last lines will be found almost literally rendered at the close of the late Rev. Dr. Archer's sermon on Good Friday—“But where can His (Jesus Christ's) thunder fall? All is covered over, all is shielded by his own blood.” Again, the epitaph of Sir Christopher Wren, under the choir of St. Paul's, is remarkable for its condensed expression—“Subtus conditur Hujus Ecclesiæ Conditor..... Lector, si monumentum quæris, circumspice.” But may it not have been suggested by an inscription anterior to Wren's birth, of similar tenor, still legible in the old church of the Jesuits at Lisbon, (St. Jose)? “Hoc Mausolæo condita est Illustrissima D. D. Philippa D. Comes, (Countess,) de Linhares—Cujus, si..... pietatem et munificentiam quæris, hoc Templum aspice—Obiit, MDCIII.

describes the sensation in his "Life," page 289, he invited the seductive lady to breakfast, when, in a bower fragrant with encircling acacias, he selected for her perusal various striking passages of the concluding sheets. Enchanted with the masterly performance, her ladyship complimented him on the successful completion of his mighty task with a warmth of language, which his prurient fancy much too licentiously indulged, as his writings prove, construed into effusions of a tenderer inspiration. Falling on his knees, he gave utterance to an impassioned profession of love, greatly to the surprise of its object, who, recoiling from his contact, entreated him to rise from this seemingly posture; but prostrate in the attempt, he vainly sought to regain his feet, until, with the aid of two robust women, he was replaced in his arm chair, from which it was pretended he had slipped. An irrepressible laugh escaped the lady, who could hardly view with displeasure this demonstration of the Promethean puissance of her charms, in quickening into vivid emotion such a mass of seemingly inert matter; and the circumstance consequently in no degree disturbed their friendly intercourse. Not so ended the impassioned declaration of Pope to Lady Mary Wortley Montague, which, repelled by a similar burst of merriment and derision, mortally wounded the ill-shaped poet's vanity, and converted his love fit into implacable hate, so often exhaled in the bitterest effusions of his mordant pen. Mr. Croker, in his "Introduction" to the recently published "Memoirs of John Lord Harvey," (pp. 35—55,) seems wholly unaware of this all-sufficient cause of the bard's and lady's alienation, for he expresses his inability to discover a satisfactory solution of the transition from an interchange of the most studied adulation to their mutual and poignant sarcasms, and vindictive animosity. These Memoirs, we must say, exhibit such a picture of immorality and courtly corruption, that, to the dynasty then newly enthroned, as emphatically protestant, cannot surely be ascribed the merit of introducing a *reform* in private virtue or public integrity; for profligacy could scarcely appear arrayed in a more hideous form, than during the period embraced in the narrative. Certainly, of vice it could not then be said, as in the glowing words of Burke, "that it lost half its evil by losing all its grossness." The Chevalier Artaud, long employed at Rome in diplomatic functions, enjoyed the familiar acquaintance of the duchess,

who, in 1814, fixed her permanent residence there, after her second husband, the Duke's, demise, and was her principal guide in publishing her magnificent illustrations of Horace, Virgil, and Dante, forming some of the most splendid productions existing of the press and graver.\*

Gibbon, on his return home, had the happiness to discover in his father's second wife a character very different from that usually drawn of a step-mother in contradistinction to that of the natural parent.

“Ἀλλοτε μητρυνὴ πέλει ἡ φύσις, ἄλλοτε μητέρα.”

and they ever continued on the most cordial terms of friendship. In 1760, he published his first work,—“*Essai sur l'Étude de la Litterature*,” of which he subsequently felt the defects. “Its faults,” observes the editor, “are clearly indicated by Gibbon, who, indeed, acknowledges that it had sunk in oblivion, until the popularity of the *Decline and Fall*, many years after, revived its memory.” In reference to it, Lord Brougham condemns the use of a foreign tongue, and justly we think, though Gibbon's command of the language was then superior, and always continued equal to his power and knowledge of his native idiom. Leibnitz wrote in French quite as well as in German, and several of his countrymen, Humboldt, the Schlegels, with many more, have composed works undiscernible for purity of diction from genuine French productions. The Great Frederick, indeed, was by no means so successful, unless Voltaire was at hand to correct his Teutonic barbarisms. † Many Italians, such

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\* His expected general history of the Popes will present, we are confident, a contrast in every element of merit to the apostate Bowers' mendacious compilation, so cheered by the bigotry of the last century, but now fallen into universal and deserved contempt.

† In Gibbon's youth, German was little cultivated beyond its local sphere, nor did he study it; but we are assured that on hearing read the translation of Homer by Voss, (“*Werke von Homer von J. H. Voss*,”) the corresponding resonance of some noted passage, such as in the *Odyssey*, A 592, “*Καὶ μὴν Σίσυφον εἰσεῖδον*”—κ. τ. λ. in the Germanic rendering, so struck him, that he declared his determination to learn the language. We cannot, however, find that he ever attempted it; and, indeed, at that period, most of the writings by Germans, of which he could usefully avail himself in his history, were at his command in Latin.

as Alfieri, Galiani, and others, betrayed little or no indications of foreign birth; but in general, we must allow, as has been said, "*que la langue Française est un instrument bien difficile à manier par des mains étrangères.*" Our Mr. Towneley's version of Hudibras has obtained praise far beyond its merits, for, in truth, it is a poor performance

The Great Frederick, with equal perversion of literary judgment and patriotic feeling, both by ridicule and example, discouraged the culture of his native tongue, while he never attained any elegance in his adopted one, to his use of which was not inaptly applied the line of Boileau, (*Satire*, ix. 241), "*Qu'il s'en prenne à sa Muse Allemande en François.*" Whatever was tolerable in his poetry was the fruit of alien aid, or direct plagiarism, of which we adduced ample proof at page 534, No xxxvi. of this Journal. His biographer, M. Casimir Paganel, on relating his flight from the field of Morlitz, the earliest scene of his warlike career, in April, 1741, contrasts that instinctive impulse of fear, so discordant from his established fame, with the declaration expressed in his epistle to Voltaire after the battle of Kôlin, "that he would die as became a king rather than survive a similar defeat." Frederick, however, did outlive more than one subsequent discomfiture; and that of Künensdorf, in April, 1759, was again memorable for his precipitate flight, though for a moment arrested in its course by an uncle of the present writer, then an officer under the Austrian commander, Laudon,\* who seized and held the royal fugitive's horse, until disabled by a pistol shot, of which the ball never could be safely extracted, though we saw and well recollect the mark. The fact is alluded to by Voltaire; and the bold, though unaccomplished attempt, was long the boast of his corps and countrymen. Archinholz, in his history of the war, (*Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges*, Erster Theil, Berlin, page 259, 1830,) paints in graphic recital the renowned monarch's danger. Pressed by a thousand of the pursuing enemy, he cried out to the officer who had just released him from our kinsman's grasp: "Prittwitz, ich bin verloren," (Prittwitz, I am lost.) "Nein, Ihre Majestat! das soll nicht geschehen, so lange noch ein Athem in uns ist," (No, your Majesty! that shall not be so long as the breath is in us,) nobly exclaimed the intrepid Hussar, who could only oppose one hundred horsemen to tenfold that number of the assailing foe; but his object was achieved, and his sovereign saved a humiliating captivity. A descendant of Prittwitz acted a conciliatory part in the contest, last March, between the soldiery and citizens of Berlin, much to his praise.

\* See Dublin Review, xxxviii. p. 311, and Gentleman's Magazine for December, 1842, p. 588.

of doubtless an arduous task. The few specimens we possess of Voltaire's occasional attempts excite a regret that he did not execute the whole, unless, as in regard to Shakspeare, he were designedly to pervert the sense. Mr. Beckford's Vatheck, and Mr. Hope's Anastasius, first appeared in French; but a suspicion always arises of the influence of wealth in the purchase of literary fame. Great, however, as was Gibbon's mastery of the language, the first intonations of his voice disclosed an alien accent, as a casual meeting at Schaffhausen in 1793, enabled us to remark, on his final return to England, under the advancing terrors of the French revolution. Bayle names several persons in Holland who spoke his tongue with difficulty, while they wrote it with ease and correction, like our University professors, in relation to Latin. Ten-Hoven, a *Dutchman*, composed in *French* his Memoirs of the *Italian* family of Medici, (La Haye, 1773,) thus combining a threefold national agency in the production.

The English do not appear so prompt as other people in attaining the use of foreign tongues in speech or writing. Lord Mahon will probably not be encouraged to make a second trial in French publication; and Anthony Hamilton cannot be viewed as an exception, for he was removed to France in his childhood. Milton's Italian poetry would not have attracted notice, but for the reflected light of his native performances; nor will the similar essays of Mathias add to the popularity, now, indeed rather faded, of his "Pursuits of Literature," which we have seen translated, or rather we may say, travestied into French, under the title of "*Les Hostilités Littéraires*," wholly in misconception of the meaning of the word *Pursuits*! Charles Fox, we remember, was reputed an accomplished *Frenchman*; but Napoleon strips him unequivocally of that advantage. In a conversation, during the short peace of 1802, on the subject of the Infernal Machine, Fox, though in stern opposition to the English ministers, indignantly repelled their imputed participation in that atrocious attempt, or in Bonaparte's words, reported by Las Cases, "*Il me combattait alors avec chaleur, en me disant dans son mauvais-Français, Premier Consul, ôtez vous cela de votre tête.*" Napoleon himself was long before he acquired a pure French accent, or, in more idiomatic phrase, before he spoke without accent. Eventually, indeed, his native Italian became much less familiar to

him and to his brothers, as the eldest, Joseph, in a discussion on the relative characters of European languages, acknowledged to us. Lucien composed his prolix epic of Charlemagne in his adopted tongue, for which, we are told by Montholon, (tome 1, chap. 13,) he was severely condemned by Napoleon, not only in preferring to his vernacular idiom any other, but for having chosen one proved by the failure of Voltaire, so perfect a master of it, to be radically unfitted for that highest reach and rarest fruit of imaginative genius, the sublime epos. Their compatriot, though constant adversary, Pozzo di Borgo,\* who had been member of the Legislative Assembly at Paris, but afterwards distinguished as a Russian diplomatist, spoke the French with elegance and fluency, yet not without a marked Italian accent, as we can state from personal intercourse.†

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\* Yet he could not be insensible to the renown shed on his native isle, though by his personal enemy; and accordingly, in 1833, he contributed a thousand francs to the subscription for a monument to the Emperor, at their mutual birth-place, Ajaccio; but, while not declined, as Rousseau's had been for Voltaire in 1770, the homage obtained little credit for him—

“ Ah ! qu'il est doux de plaindre

Le sort d'un ennemi, quand il n'est plus à craindre,”

was a sentiment expressed by Corneille, and repeated on this occasion. Pozzo di Borgo had been secretary to Sir Gilbert Elliot, while viceroy of Corsica, we are told by Napoleon in his interesting account of the island dictated to Montholon (chap. xvi.) where, as usual with foreigners, Elliot is named a lord, which he then was not. On the 8th of November, 1768, Burke, in adverting to Corsica, then conquered, said: “ They [the ministers] saw the French take possession of Corsica—Corsica naked, I do not dread, but Corsica, a province of France is terrible to me,” an unconscious prophecy realized in the person of Napoleon, born there the following year, we may well say—Corsica became an integral part of the French monarchy in June, 1769, just two months before his birth; and to this short interval he owed his boast of being a Frenchman.

† Experience, however, shows that great linguists do not always possess a corresponding range of mind; and memory, like the appetite, must be judged less by its voracity than by its power of digestion. Even the most renowned, Picus, Mirandula, Postel, Ludolf, Magliabecchi, Mezzofante, &c., appear in other respects of limited faculties. Not so, indeed, Sir William Jones, or Niebuhr, with whom we are little disposed to associate the Bible-Society's



Previously to the publication of Gibbon's French Essay, which, though evincing much diffusive reading, is deficient in the cohesion of its component parts, and exhibits no direct or unbroken view of its object, he was appointed captain in the Hampshire militia, of which his father was major. The service absorbed above two years of his time in irksome duties, ill-suited, as they were, to his habits and constitution. Some benefit, however, he does acknowledge; for the discipline and evolutions of a modern batalion gave him a clearer notion, he says, of the phalanx and the legion; and "the captain of the Hampshire grenadiers, (the reader may smile,) has not been useless to the historian of the Roman Empire." Various literary projects then engaged his thoughts, but were successively relinquished; and early in 1763, he again visited the continent. At Paris he passed three months, when, just after the triumphs of the Seven Years' War, the British name stood high in national distinction, and where his literary circle of acquaintance embraced most of the celebrities of the period. Thence he proceeded to Lausanne, where commenced his friendly intercourse with

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delegate, Mr. Borrow, though probably not less rich in the gift of dialects. The result of his mission to Spain was an utter disappointment, for not even was a congenial *Gitano* added to the Society's converts; but he was amply paid, and that was all he wanted; for he well knew the Basque proverb's import:—

"Chequel sos perella,  
Cocal tirella."

Their other missionaries have generally employed their imperfectly attained knowledge in translating the scriptures from a notoriously incorrect text, the Anglican version, thus diffusing the word of God through a doubly vitiated channel, *this*, their original, and their own interpretation of it. It is now admitted by the most learned commentators among the Protestants, that of all existing translations the Catholic Vulgate is the best; and it was so declared in 1679 by the University of Oxford, as the late Dr. Bathurst, bishop of Norwich, stated, during the debates on the Catholic Question, in the House of Lords. For the corrupt versions of the Anglican missionaries, we would refer to the Rev. Ebenezer Henderson's "Appeal to the Bible Society, to the traveller Burkhardt, to Dr. Wordsworth, and to the learned J. J. Reiske, with other Protestant authorities. Even Morison's have not escaped the critical censure of Abel Remusat, the Chinese proficient.

Mr. Holroyd, afterwards Lord Sheffield, and his future executor. His stay there lasted nearly a year, when he pursued his course and reached the eternal city, as he and the universal voice distinguish it—the city of ever-fated renown, the mistress in arms, art, and mind of civilized men, the sanctuary of faith, and one fold of one shepherd—Rome:—

.....“l'antiqua sede  
Del valor vero, e della vera fide:”

in a word, “veuve d'un peuple roi, et reine encor du monde.” “After a sleepless night,” he says, “I trod with lofty steps the ruins of the Forum; each memorable spot where Romulus stood, or Tully spoke, or Cæsar fell, was at once present to my eye; and several days of intoxication were lost or enjoyed, before I could descend to a cool and minute investigation.” Shortly after his arrival there, on the 15th of October 1764, as he sat musing on the ruins of the capital, the idea of writing the “Decline and Fall of the city,” first started to his mind. His original plan, he adds, was circumscribed to the decay of the city rather than of the empire; and Lord Brougham pointedly condemns his deviation from his early intention, though, until 1452, and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, this eastern seat of transplanted rule assumed the title and exercised the prerogatives of the metropolis of the Roman Empire.

After his return to England in 1765, Gibbon resumed his literary views, revolving in his mind divers schemes of execution, mostly in French, with his friend Deyverdun; but none were pursued to completion, except a Journal, under the title of “*Mémoires Littéraires de la Grande Bretagne*,” of which two volumes had issued from the press when his associate left England to accompany to the continent young Sir Richard Worsley, who thirty years subsequently published the splendid *Musæum Worsleyanum*. An Essay on the descent of Æneas and the Sybil to the Infernal Regions in Virgil's sixth book, in opposition to Bishop Warburton's hypothesis on the subject, was his earliest English publication. The line, (896,) “*sed falsa ad cælum mittunt in somnia manes*,” seemed to convert the whole scene into a dream, while to the learned prelate it appeared to represent allegorically the Trojan hero's initiation into the Eleusynian mysteries. The solu-

tion was, not unsuccessfully, combated by Gibbon, who triumphantly adduces the praise bestowed on the dissertation by Heyne, still unquestionably, as he was then, the poet's ablest editor. The German commentator appears, however, to consider Virgil as involved in an inextricable dilemma into which his imagination had seduced him; for he thinks it hard to believe that the poet could have intended to impose the representation on his readers as a mere phantasm, or a dream. "*Quæ si poetæ mens fuit, nihil unquam a quopiam poeta magis sinistrum profectum esse arbitror.....nec quicquam excogitari poterat absurdus.*" (Excursus xv.)

From this publication in 1770, to 1776, when the first volume of his great work met the public eye, the press produced nothing from his pen; but he sat for some years in parliament, and after his father's death in 1770, removed from Buriton to a house in Bulstrode Street, which he occupied till 1783, when he fixed his residence at Lausanne. In parliament, where he represented the borough of Leskard, prudence, he felt, condemned him to be mute: he was not fitted by nature or education for an active part in debate; and even the success of his pen discouraged the trial of his voice. Addison's legislative career similarly failed to correspond with his literary fame; and the amiable Cowper's public incapacity of speech is on record. So, too, extraordinary as it may seem in a man of the highest rank, the known lover of a princess,\* and long mixed in scenes of factious turbulence, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, would not suffer himself to be proposed as a member of the French Academy, into which his rank and well known book of "*Maxims*" equally ensured him a welcome reception, because he should have to pronounce a recipient's discourse. Nicole, the co-operator with Pascal

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\* Anne de Bourbon, sister of the Grand Condé, and Duchess of Longueville, of whom he wrote—

"Pour mériter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux yeux,  
J'ai fait la guerre au roi; je l'aurais faite aux Dieux."

On their subsequent rupture he thus parodied, when he had become completely blind, this bold distich, in one not a little remarkable for its concluding bathos,—

"Pour mériter ce cœur, qu'enfin je connais mieux,  
J'ai fait la guerre au Roi; j'en ai perdu les yeux."

in producing the famous "Provincial Letters," and J. J. Rousseau, were similarly denied the faculty of bold and prompt address; and poor, indeed, was the figure in the imperial or revolutionary councils of France exhibited by the eminent names in science of Monge, La Place, and Chaptal.

Gibbon's characters of the distinguished orators in parliament, while he was their silent colleague, including Lord North, Thurlow, Wedderburne, Burke, Barré, Dunning, Fox, and Sheridan, though briefly, or in single epithets conveyed, are luminously descriptive of their respective qualities. Then, too, he enjoyed for about three years the nearly sinecure, though lucrative place of a Lord of Trade, producing £.700 to £.800 annually; but losing it in 1782, (and not in 1784, as stated by Lord Brougham) he retired from parliament.

As we have just mentioned, in Feb. 1776, the first volume of his history appeared, and, with the exception of the anti-christian spirit of the 15th and 16th chapters, was received with the warmest approval. Hume and Robertson hailed him as a congenial associate; the former, in a letter, misdated in the biography the 18th of March, 1766, in place of 1776, addressed to Gibbon himself; and Robertson, in one directed to the printer Strahan, in which he says, "that he had not read the obnoxious chapters, but that, from what he had heard of them, he regretted that such a tone had been taken as would give offence, and hurt the sale of the book." To this passage the reverend editor subjoins a remark: "There is something not quite honest in this prudential civility of Robertson;" and such has been the general construction of the letter, while Lord Brougham asserts his uncle's strict veracity, and is quite sure that to avoid controversy he had not then read the objectionable chapters. Even so, it was an evasion of duty. The perusal of the volume which had been presented to him, should not have stopped where, more especially to a churchman, the subject rose in interest, solicited his attention, and commanded every effort of counteraction. Of the offensive portion also, he regrets not the immoral effect, but the pecuniary loss thence arising; so that Mr. Milman's animadversion is perfectly just in its application.

On the other hand we find that Richard Porson, the *Hellenist*, after warmly espousing Gibbon's side in the controversy on the "Three Heavenly Witnesses" in St.

John's First Epistle, turned against him the sharpest edge of his wit, and assailed with caustic and indignant sarcasms, the pruriency of the historian's imagination contrasted with the impotency of his nature, so constantly displayed in the insinuated or half-veiled licentious thought or allusion; an artifice of seduction, we are told by Tacitus, so effectually employed by Poppæa Sabina with Nero—"velata parte oris, ne satiaret aspectum,"—the more dangerous because least suspected in its object. "The historian," observes Porson, "pleads eloquently for the rights of mankind, and the duty of toleration; nor does his humanity ever slumber, unless when women are outraged, or christians persecuted." Among his opponents also came prominently forward Dr. Priestley, "who threw down the gauntlet to me," says Gibbon, "but I declined the challenge, exhorting him rather to enlighten the world by his philosophical discoveries. Remember the end of your Socinian predecessor, Servetus—not of his life, for the Calvin of our days are restrained from the use of the same fiery arguments—but I mean the end of his reputation. His theological works are lost in oblivion, and if his book on the Trinity be still preserved, it is only because it contains the first rudiments of the discovery of the circulation of the blood."\* The book of Servetus here referred to is, of course that printed at Hagenau, in 1531, 8vo., "*de Trinitatis Erroribus*;" but, as we have had frequent occasions to state, it does not contain a sentence on the great discovery. It is in the ill-fated Spaniard's work, the '*Christianismi Restitutio*,' (pp. 170 & 259) which

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\* It is, notwithstanding, to his theological works that Servetus is mainly indebted, if it be a benefit, for the permanence of his memory; for his insight, however proximate, into the true system of the venious current in the human frame, remained long unnoticed, and is now only known to the curious in scientific research; while the burning pile, to which he was consigned as a holocaust, for daring to outstrip his model, Calvin, in the race of innovation, has imparted to his name a never-fading vitality, and commensurate notoriety. But the foul deed, in betraying the dark foldings of its perpetrator's character, has presented to our contemplation, in this patriarch of reform, a signal specimen of the prime movers in that momentous event, marked as their conduct has so often been, by the flagrant violation, in act and principle, of their own governing rule and example.—(See Gibbon, vol. x, p. 182, and Walpole's Correspondence, in October, 1771).

did not appear till 1553, above twenty years afterwards, that the anticipated glance of Harvey's established theory is to be found. The title of the earlier volume deceived Gibbon, as it did Chauffepié, whose article on Servetus he justly praises; (*Decline and Fall*, vol. x. p. 182.) but neither Priestley, Milman, nor Brougham, were aware of the mistake. Indeed, no copy of the "*Christianismi Restitutio*" exists in England; nor have above two survived the flames, which the condemned edition, "*femori codex alligatus*," contributed to kindle for the immolation of Calvin's victim. A reprint, however, assuming to be a fac-simile, but confined to a small number of copies, was published at Nuremberg in 1791.

After putting forth this first volume of his history, Gibbon undertook an excursion to Paris, determined, he says, by the pressing invitation of M. Necker and his accomplished wife, who had visited England the preceding summer. On his arrival he found Necker, Director-General of the Finances—an office similar to that of our Chancellor of the Exchequer—in the first bloom of power and popularity, and through their influence his circle of acquaintance embraced alike the heads of literature and of polite society. Lord Brougham, on this occasion, to which he, or the printer, assigns the date of 1771 instead of 1777, presents his readers, in a translation not altogether correct, Madame Duffaut's laudatory report of Gibbon's manners, conversation, and talents. The lady was then in her eightieth year, but had for one-third of that period been wholly bereaved of sight, or in her definition of the privation "*plongée dans un cachot éternel*," though, from her unimpaired intellect, Voltaire, to whom several of her pointed observations were attributed, called her, "*l'aveugle clairvoyante*."\* His lordship, however, adverts not to

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\* Thus the conversion of "*L'Esprit des Lois*," the title of Montesquieu's noble work, into "*De l'Esprit sur les Lois*," is usually attributed to the witty poet, though really this lady's prompt expression. Few, indeed, have been more favoured in such transfers of alien property than Voltaire, to whom we not long since saw ascribed, by a distinguished naval officer, in the *United Service Journal*, the energetic line "*Le trident de Neptune est le sceptre du monde*," but it belongs to A. M. Lamière, and is to be found in his poem, "*Sur le Commerce*," published in 1757. The assertion is traceable to Themistocles, as Plutarch, in his life (§ viii.) relates,



her ludicrous misapprehension, on passing her hand over Gibbon's face, her custom on the introduction of a stranger, substituting the sense of touch for that of sight, as a guide, from the form of the countenance, in the discrimination of character. But the anomalous conformation of Gibbon's features probably suggested the story, though generally credited at the time. Horace Walpole was her favoured friend, as their published correspondence shows; but she was a very unamiable cold-hearted woman, of whom Rousseau, on rejecting her hospitable invitations, courted, though they were by others, said, "J'aime mieux m'exposer au fléau de sa haine que de son amitié." Her dissension with Mademoiselle L'Espinasse produced a breach of union between the literary chieftains of Paris, when this female contest excited the greatest commotion in the *philosophic* metropolis! D'Alembert was the zealous partisan of Mademoiselle L'Espinasse.\*

After he had returned from Paris, Gibbon published the second and third volumes of his history, which gradually rose in sale, and advanced in public estimation to the level of their predecessor, though, as he acknowledges, more

and as we likewise are informed by Cicero, in a letter to Atticus. (lib. x., Epist. 8)—"Cujus (Pompeii) consilium Themistocleum est, Existimat enim qui mare teneat eum necesse rerum potiri." And England attests the fact. And in Lemièrre's poem, "Sur l'utilité des Découvertes dans les Sciences et les Arts," (1786, 8vo.) another thought of pregnant import occurs,—

"Croire tout découvert est une erreur profonde;  
C'est prendre l'horizon pour les bornes du monde."

Numerous ingenious sayings have, in like manner, been gratuitously appropriated to Talleyrand, and, amongst them, that which affirms "that words were given to man for the concealment of his thoughts." It was, however, to be found in Goldsmith's Third Essay, entitled *The Bee*; but more distinctly, and before the birth of that type of Protean versatility, though of still older date, enunciated by our poet Young:

"When nature's end of language is declined,  
And men talk only to conceal their mind."

*Apology for the Cathedral Service.*

And on no one in Rome was this unearned paternity oftener conferred than on Cicero, as he writes to Volumnius—"Ais omnia omnium dicta in me conferri," &c.—(Epist. Famil. lib. viii. 32.)

\* See Dublin Review, No. XLIII., pp. 219 and 227.

prolix and less entertaining. On the continent, he adds, his name and writings were slowly diffused. A French translation had disappointed the booksellers in Paris, who, indeed, employed very incompetent persons for the task; and, at that time, few were much conversant with our tongue, which made Voltaire compare their versions to the wrong side of tapestry. In fact, until M. Guizot revised the whole, which he published in 1812, forming thirteen octavo tomes, Gibbon's work appeared to great disadvantage in French dress. Mr. Lowndes, in his *Bibliographer's Manual*, page 784, gives a list of Gibbon's religious antagonists, to which may be added an able Italian refutation—"Confutazione dell' esame del Cristianismo fatto da Gibbon."—(Roma, 1784, 2 vols. 4to.)

In 1783, finding his income, after the suppression of the Board of Trade, inadequate to his state of life in London, he removed to Lausanne, the cherished scene of his youth; and never had he reason, he affirms, to repent of his choice until the spreading flame of the French revolution compelled his return to England, ten years subsequently. He had then, however, to lament, in July, 1789, the death of M. Deyverdun, after a continued friendship of eight-and-thirty years. But, ere his arrival there, he had commenced his fourth volume, which he concluded in June, 1784, as he did the fifth in 1786, and finally the sixth and last, on the 27th of June, 1787. This consummation of his labours he thus impressively records—"It was on that day, or rather night, between the hours of eleven and twelve, I wrote the last page in a summer-house in my garden. After laying down my pen, I took several turns in a *berceau*, or covered walk, which commands a prospect of the country, the lake, and the mountains. The air was temperate, the sky was serene, the silver orb of the moon was reflected from the waters, and all nature was silent." He then subjoins two facts, of rare occurrence truly in the composition of so elaborate an achievement.—1. "His first rough manuscript, without any intermediate copy, was sent to the press."—2. "Not a sheet had been seen by any human eyes, excepting those of the author and printer." The anecdote related immediately after of the corrector of the press, who transported entire volumes from his mind to print, without having been written by the pen, is taken, though uncited, from Mercier's "*Tableau de*

Paris;" and the name was Rétif de la Bretonne, not Bretonne, as misprinted in the biography.

After this termination of his undertaking, which he obviously contemplated with special self-satisfaction, he proceeded to London, in order to superintend the impression of the last three volumes; subsequently to which he returned to his favourite abode, where he enjoyed for a few days the society of Charles Fox. But the advancing French conflagration soon interrupted his repose; for his sentiments on that mighty event perfectly coincided with those of Burke. "I have sometimes," he says, "thought of writing a dialogue of the dead, in which Lucian, Erasmus, and Voltaire, should mutually acknowledge the danger of exposing an old superstition to the contempt of the blind and fanatic multitude." The idea was a good one, but would have been best executed by a renouncement of the principles of which the propagation by the writers of his school had caused the evils he had then to deplore, while Gibbon himself should have found his place among the interlocutors. The revolutionary excesses, though just then by no means arrived at their consummation, had opened his eyes to the danger of undermining the christian faith, designated, indeed, in his vocabulary, as a superstition, but still, thus proved by the fatal consequences of its abandonment, to be the safeguard of public morality and social order. Lamenting his share in the work of destruction, well might he have repeated with Ovid—

"Cum relego, scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno,  
Me quoque, qui feci, judice, digna lini."

De Ponto. lib. i. Eleg. v.

Hurried, as we have seen, thus from Lausanne, he passed some months with Lord Sheffield in London, interspersed with short visits to other friends; but his declining health compelled him, in November, 1793, to consult the medical faculty. His direct complaint was a hydrocel, aggravated by hernia, under which he had long laboured, and the former of which, though, as we distinctly recollect, prominent and visible, he had until then studiously avoided mentioning to his most intimate friends. After various operations, his death, when little expected, it seems, by himself, ensued the 16th of January, 1794. His personal appearance has been often described: and the "silhouette," or "portrait en découpure," prefixed to the quarto edition of his

"Miscellaneous Works," is a perfect type of it. "La racine de son nez s'enfonçait dans le crâne plus profondément que dans celle du nez d'un Kalmouck; et le tronc informe de son corps à gros ventre de Silène était posé sur cette espèce de jambes qu'on appelle flutes (spindles)."

Such is the representation, "de l'auteur de la grande et superbe Histoire de l'Empire Romain," by M. Suard, the translator of Robertson, whom Gibbon reckons among the men of letters whose acquaintance he had formed in Paris. Before our accidental meeting, previously referred to, in Switzerland, on his escape from the revolutionary hurricane, we were little prepared for the visible contrast of his natural deformity of feature and structure, with the "beau idéal" of personal beauty suggested to our imagination by his description of Mahomet, in his fiftieth chapter, where the prophet is represented as conspicuous for that attractive advantage—"an outward gift," the historian adds, "which is seldom despised, except by those to whom it has been refused." Naturally enough, therefore, we did not anticipate the utter denial to himself of an attribute thus lauded, and greatly, in consequence, did the reality disappoint us, until the charm of his conversation, short though the enjoyment was, obliterated the impression.

Gibbon's historical compeer, Hume, though less grotesque in conformation, was much more deficient in intellectual expression of countenance. Lord Charlemont, who knew him well at Turin, tells us, (Hardy's "Life of Charlemont," page 8.) "that his face was broad and fat, his mouth wide, and without any other expression than that of imbecility. His eyes vacant and spiritless, and the corpulence of his whole person presented more the idea of a turtle-eating alderman than of a refined philosopher. His speech in English was rendered ridiculous by the broadest Scotch accent, and his French was, if possible, still worse." Yet in Paris, when secretary to Lord Hertford, his literary fame procured him the most flattering reception, as we learn from Gibbon, by rank and beauty. So, too, we are assured by Madame D'Epinay and her paramour, Grimm, in their respective correspondence. "Il n'y a point de fête," says the lady, "sans Hume: toutes les jolies femmes se sont emparées du gros philosophe, qui ne dit pas un mot." And the caterer of news for the German courts similarly states: "Hume est laid: il n'a ni grâce ni agrément, et toutes les jolies

femmes se l'arrachent." Wilkes, to whom nature gave no letter of recommendation, quickly effaced by his social agreeability any *prima facie* disfavour, and maintained that the handsomest man in England had only the advantage of the first half-hour over him. Mirabeau even boasted of the power of his ugliness: "Personne ne connaît la puissance de ma laideur," was his vaunt. Many years subsequent to their intercourse at Turin, Lord Charlemont, ("Life," page 120.) on meeting Hume in London, felicitated him on the happiness of enjoying Rousseau's company in England. "Why, no," replied the philosopher, "Rousseau is not the man you think him. He has a hankering after the Bible; and, indeed, is little better than a christian, in a way of his own." Hume and Gibbon were, in fact, both morally and physically, cast pretty much in the same mould.

Twenty pages are appropriated by Lord Brougham to a critical review of Gibbon's history; but the sketch does not exhibit, as already noticed, new views of interest, or any unpublished circumstance of importance; while some parts may be fairly contested. To the style, doubtless deficient in simplicity of diction, ease of movement, or variety of form, he is hardly just; for no English writer abounds with more pregnant evidence of the splendour, power, and copiousness of our tongue—none more eloquent, more energetic in its expression. He is peculiarly felicitous in his translations, for there, as had been remarked of the Italian interpreters of the classics, his imagination is coerced without impairing the riches or command of his language. The occasional versions of Tacitus, particularly in the ninth chapter, as well as of Montesquieu's vivid image of the influence of religion on Theodosius, (*Esprit des Lois*, xxxv. 2.) in Gibbon's twenty-eighth chapter, are admirable. In truth, it may be asserted of him, as Johnson did of Pope's Homer, and encomium could scarcely proceed further, that there exists not a happy combination of words in the English language, not one of which it is susceptible, that is not exemplified in the "Decline and Fall." And, on the other hand, that, while habitually magniloquent and stately, he could bend as the subject required it, is sufficiently testified by the playful or familiar, we will not say graceful, diction of his correspondence. Who, besides, will deny the extensive and diversified erudition, the sustained interest, and discerning

views of human acts and motives, displayed in his history, accompanied by observations, generally of corresponding sequence with the associated occurrences? Yet we are not insensible to the absence of those elevated or generous sentiments, which the events related in his narrative, should suggest to every historian who desires to counteract the adverse tendency of the repulsive facts that too often constitute the mass of his history. Reflections, indeed, are not spared, as we have just stated, perhaps even, as is charged by the Abbé Mably, they are too frequent in use; but we regret that they are not oftener of a higher moral tone, or more dignified character than, we fear, it was in his nature to feel, or his purpose to express, as a disciple of the soul-depressing, earth-bound Voltairian school. M. Guizot expresses himself with great force and propriety on this point.

Considered as a whole, the "Decline and Fall" presents, we must admit, with the reservation of occasional antichristian misrepresentations, fewer historical errors than almost any extant composition of equal compass; inso-much that on the continent, we are assured by M. Guizot, the work is constantly cited as authority, similar to that assigned by Gibbon to Le Nain de Tillemont's Ecclesiastical and Imperial Annals of the first six centuries of the Christian era. We are, therefore, the more surprised at the glaring anachronism in his fifty-ninth chapter, where he makes Pope Gregory the First, (in full letters,) implore the aid of Charles Martel, in 740, against the Lombards, whereas that Pontiff had ceased to live nearly ninety years before the French hero's birth, in 604. An inadvertence, too, relating to the classical history of Rome, has been overlooked by all reviewers. In the thirty-first chapter it is asserted that the Anician family was unknown during the five first ages\* of Rome, and that its earliest date

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\* Moliere, in his "*Bourgeois Gentilhomme*," introduces nine words (Acte ii. Sc. 6)—"*Belle Marquise vos beaux yeux me font mourir d'amour*," which the silly citizen's teacher attempts to place in four different ways; but, except the original, they are all barbarous, unidiomatic, and repulsive to a French ear. Not so the Latin, of which we may adduce a line of only eight words—"Tot tibi sunt dotes, Virgo, quot sidera cælo," which Erycius Puteanus, in his "*Pietatis Thaumata*," &c., printed at Antwerp in 1617, showed, were susceptible of 1022 different positions, corresponding



found in the Annals of Pighius was that of Anicius Gallus, a tribune of the people in the year of the city 506. But we are surprised that Gibbon, in the vast extent of his reading, should have passed unobserved the explicit mention in Pliny, (*Hist. Natur.* xxxiii. 6,) of Quintus Anicius, as Curulus Œdilis, colleague in that office of Cneius Flavius, in the year 449 of the usual Roman chronology, or 442 of Niebuhr's more accurate reckoning, that is, full sixty years anterior to Gibbon's statement. That edileship, besides, was one of marked celebrity; for Flavius divulged the secrets of the civil law held in mysterious reserve by the pontiffs as an instrument of popular control, by compelling a recurrence to themselves on every contention which arose. "Civile jus repositum in penetralibus pontificum evulgavit Flavius," says Livy (ix. 46.) Aulus Gellius, (vi. 9,) Cicero de Oratore, (cap. 41,) and de Republica, (lib. i.) with Pighius himself, at page 377 of his Annals, (Antwerpæ, 1613,) dwell on what was deemed a memorable event, as occurring during the office of Anicius and Flavius; but the languid health of the former made him so little prominent, that, like Cæsar's colleague in the consulship, M. Calpurnius Bibulus, his name was eclipsed by that of Flavius. It continued, however, an authentic record, and holds a prominent place in one of the noblest monuments of Roman genius, Pliny's great work, "*opus non minus varium quam ipsa natura*," in the emphatic eulogy of his adopted nephew, (Epist. lib. iii. 5.) The reader may likewise see in the Rev. Mr. Maitland's "*Essays on the Dark Ages*," at p. 230, the fallacious grounds on which Gibbon rests his sarcastic note in volume x. p. 193, on the imputed superstition of the dignitaries of the Church, relative to Gog and Magog. Still, notwithstanding these drawbacks

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with the number of fixed stars known to the old astronomers. But James Bernouilli, in his "*Ars Conjectandi*," (Basil, 1713), proved that the verse offered 3322 combinations. The French, in fact, admits of few inversions, compared even with the English or Italian, as was remarked to us by Joseph Bonaparte, who, in illustration, referred to the opening lines of the *Paradise Lost*, and the *Henriade*, with various passages of Ariosto, Tasso, &c., where, in all save the French, the words were susceptible of varied collocation, an advantage which accounted in his conception for the superiority of our orators over the French, from the versatility of expression thence derived.

on his accuracy, the work, as he anticipated, has taken root; and, with the unhappy exception of his antichristian sentiments, few are entitled, with a firmer tone of confidence, to say, "What care I what curious eye doth quote infirmities?"

The Rev. Editor, we must observe, in conclusion, cannot be presumed to have revised the Biography, teeming as it does with errors, of which not less than a hundred disgrace the impression. For his information, too, we may state that the name, at page 262 of that volume, and note, left in blank, is the prince of "*Beauveau*," the personal friend of Louis XVI.

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ART. VII.—*The Night Side of Nature ; or, Ghosts and Ghost Seers*, by CATHERINE CROWE, Authoress of "*Susan Hopley*," "*Lilly Dawson*," "*Aristodemus*," &c., &c. In 2 vols. T. C. Newby, 72, Mortimer St., Cavendish Square.

THIS is a very curious book, and well worthy of the attention of the reader. It is the unconscious testimony given by one, who is plainly not a Catholic, to the state of the public mind in England as that mind has been moulded, although not permanently fixed, by centuries of Protestantism; and it is, in itself, a disproof of the malignant charge so frequently preferred against the Roman Catholic religion, that it has a peculiar tendency to foster superstition, and to promote a credence in witchcraft, enchantment, and charms. This book shows that Anglican Protestantism is disheartened by dreams, and affrighted by ghosts, as Scotch Calvinism is beset by wraiths, and terrified by prognostics. It demonstrates that those who will not yield their faith to what is true, have to bow down as trembling slaves before what is false as it is foul—that those who turn away their eyes from what is bright, beautiful, and consoling, are compelled to go groping in the dark, on the chance of encountering some lurid gleams that may help to guide them in their progress through this world.

Disbelievers are here shown to be idiotically credulous ;

and the heretic, in the maturity of his years, and the full possession of all his reasoning faculties, is found to be moved by an apprehension of things, which, if told in the nursery of a well-educated Catholic child, would be laughed at. The world of spirits is moved because Mr. Hobson has lost his shoe, or Mrs. Jenkins has mislaid her night-cap! There are prophetic visions about the most common accidents in life; and ghosts haunt the earth, because Mr. Dobbs, having booked himself for an inside place, has been compelled by a roguish coach-office clerk to travel three-score miles and ten beside the guard on a cold wintry night! If a child is about to be blessed by death in the days of its baptismal innocence, then there is a dire dream symbolising its happy call to heaven, through a grim Death tearing it from its mother's arms, and slaughtering it with a tomahawk!\*

If it be not superstitious to believe that all visions are not vain and idle dreams, then, according to the narration of each particular vision, we can at once tell whether it has arisen within the precincts of the Catholic Church, or whether it is not an useless weed that has sprung out of the rank soil of heresy, or infidelity, or paganism.†

Belief in the supernatural is not confined to those who receive the gospel in pure, child-like simplicity of heart. It will be found as rife amongst those who deny the Church to be "the pillar and the ground of truth," as amongst those who are persecutors of the Church, as amongst those who are utterly ignorant of the great mystery of redemption. The credulity, if we must so term it, of the Catholic and the non-Catholic, is in most cases easily distinguishable: the one elevates the thoughts to heaven, or dwells upon the interests of the immortal soul; the other has but reference to the weal of the body, to health, to sickness, to riches, power, poverty, accidents affecting life or limb—it is "of the earth, earthy." The one warns the sinner to repentance; the other pre-dooms him to unwished-for sufferings. The one admonishes us to seek for happiness

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\* See vol. i. pp. 88, 89, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 332, 353.

† "Die Gespensterfurcht reflektirt sich in schaverlichen Zerrbildern, die religiöse Begeisterung, die schwärmerische Ueberspannung in hohen und glänzenden himmlischen Gestalten." Fischer, *Der Somnabulismus*, vol i. §. *Die religiöse Vision*, p. 255.

in the next life; the other encourages us in the search of sensual pleasures in the present. Abnegation of self is the motive of one; indulgence of sense the impulse of the other.

Practical Christianity is the perfection of contentment. Firm in faith it seeks to know nothing beyond that which religion teaches. Full of charity towards all, it is satisfied with its own condition in life, and rejoices in the prosperity of its neighbour. It struggles to master the evil of to-day, and there is no to-morrow for it in this world; its hopes and its fears are for that eternity which a moment may bring, and that once begun, shall never feel the gloom of a sunset. Christianity is undisturbed by vain cares or an idle curiosity; and therefore it contemned in ancient days the arts of magic, as it despises in this the practices, the nostrums, and the revelations of mesmerism.

The history of superstitions in all ages of the world, is the history of impiety in all ages of the world: and so far from tracing in the superstitions of mankind the germ of that pure faith at one time possessed by them, that we have in these superstitions only the corroborative proof of the weakness and wickedness of mortals from the first moment that they dissented from revealed truth, and denied that their God was THE GOD who had created all things by His Word, and saved Noah and his family from destruction, when HE punished the world by the deluge. If we can discover in the remotest portions of the North, the knowledge brought from Asia of HIM who "liveth from all ages, governeth all realms, and swayeth all things great and small;" who "hath formed heaven and earth, and all things thereunto belonging; and that all that are righteous shall dwell with him in the place called Gimli, or Vingolf; but the wicked shall go to Hel, and thence to Vifhel, which is below in the ninth world"\*—if we can discover these truths, it is but to find them speedily immersed in the filthy abominations of Freyr, and submerged beneath the bloody sacrifices of Saxnot.† The worship of the One God disappears, and adoration is

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\* The Prose Edda. § 3, "Of the Supreme Deity."

† Ozanam, *Les Germains avant le Christianisme*, p. 85.

paid to sticks and stones, to growing trees and flowing rivers.\*

We can trace superstitions at all periods of time, not to the true religion, but to the false forms of religion; and their grossness and their wickedness will always be found in proportion to the greater departure and wider separation that has taken place between the human understanding and the simplicity and intelligibility of the one true faith; and whether the superstition was professed publicly as a national creed, or practised privately as a means of promoting some sordid and vicious desire, we find the elect of God repudiating it in either form, denouncing it, struggling against it, and seeking to extirpate every trace of it from the hearts of the people.†

There is no safety nor security against the vain and wicked curiosity of superstition, but within the Church. Those who will not now believe in Christ, believe in magnetism, as their predecessors gave full credence to magicians.‡ Julian, the apostate and persecutor of those,

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\* Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 9, 10, 39. "Alii etiam lignis et fontibus clanculo, alii autem aperte sacrificabant. Vit. S. Bonifac. in Works of St. Boniface, vol. ii. p. 165: "Si quis ad arbores, vel ad fontes, vel ad lapides, sive ad cancellos vel ubicumque, excepto in æcclesia Dei votum voverit, &c." Theodor. Arch. Cant. Liber Pœnitent. c. 27, § 18. See Capit. et Fragment, Theodor. de incantatoribus, § 3, Pœnitent. Ecgbert. Arch. Ebor. Lib. iv. c. 19.

† See Acts of the Apostles, c. viii. 9, 24.; c. xiii. 6. 12.; c. xix. 13. 19.

"En effet, lorsque le christianisme fut prêché, la magie étoit plus commune que jamais parmi les païens; nous le voyons par ce qu' en disent Celse, Julien, les historiens romains et nos anciens apologistes. Les Peres s' attachèrent avec raison à decrier cet art funeste. \* \* \* Le concile de Laodicée, tenu l' an 366; celui a'. Agde, en 506; le concile in Trullo l' an 692; un concile de Rome, en 721: les capitulaires de Charlemagne, et plusieurs conciles postérieurs; le penitential romain etc., ont frappé d' anathème et ont soumis à une pénitence rigoureuse tous ceux qui auroient recouru à la magie de quelque espece qu' elle fut." Bergier, Dictionnaire de Theologie, vol. v. pp. 94, 95, in verb. "magie." See also Ozanam, *Les Germains avant le Christianisme*, pp. 397, 404.

‡ See Letter of M. Alexander Dumas in the *Presse*, and copied into the *Courrier de l'Europe*, October 23, 1847, pp. 687, 688.

who offered up their pure invocations to the Blessed Virgin, stained his hands with the blood of the victims sacrificed at the altars of Venus; as in modern times those who enforced the Penal Laws, and banished Catholics from the palace, the law-courts, the camp, and the city, sought favours from the daughter of the Countess Platen, and begged for bishoprics from Lady Sundon.\*

And here we may remark that full justice has never yet been done to the authors of the Penal Laws; for it has not been sufficiently noticed how much of the spirit, as well as the practical operation, of those laws has been borrowed from the imperial policy of Julian, the persecutor of Christians, and the admirer, as well as steady friend, of magicians.†

The horrors and delusions of magic have prevailed in all ages, from the days of Cham to the present. It has assumed different forms—resorted to various devices—has sold itself for gold—lent itself to the passions—co-operated with vice—captivated infidels, and fought against the faith. It is, under whatever disguise it hides itself, or whatever gross or grand, vulgar or philosophical name, it assumes the contaminator of faith, the rebel against hope, and opponent to charity, as religion presents these great attributes to the soul of the Christian. Its abominations are innumerable, and the mind shrinks from dwelling upon the disgusting crimes which its votaries, women as well as men, were induced to commit. We are not disposed to trace it through its development in former times, nor to exemplify it in the lives of those who practised it; because it would be as little to our present purpose to do so, as it would be to defend Moses from the antiquated imputation against him, that he was nothing more than a magician;‡ for as the heaven-inspired law-giver was

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\* See “Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon,” *passim*.

† See Vit. S. S. Juventin et Maximin. Act. Sanct. (Januar.) Vol. ii. p. 619.

‡ “Cumque Moises in testimonium mandatorum Dei, ex virga draconem fecisset, mox aquas omnes in sanguinem convertisset, totamque terram ranis opplesset: facientibus similia Chaldaeis, magicas esse artes, quæcumque per Moisen fierent, potius quam Dei virtutem, pronuntiabat.” Sulpicius Severus, *Sac. Hist. Lib. i.*

“Vetus hæc Ægyptiorum et Græcorum calumnia. Qui Mosen



assailed, so have Catholic saints and martyrs been calumniated, and their miracles have been repudiated but as the successful tricks of wily magicians. In this respect the heretic imitates the example of ancient infidels. Unable to deny the miracles of Catholic saints as facts, he perversely determines to disavow them as manifestations of Heaven in testimony of those saints' virtues, of their humility, their purity, their faith, and their charity; and hence he boldly and resolutely impugns them as the deeds of sorcerers—as the delusions of Satan.\*

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inter præcipuos Magos collocant. Plin. xxx. Justin. xxxvi. Apul. Apol. Strabo xvi. Plinii Verba sunt: *Est et alia Magices factio a Mose etiamnum et Iocabel Judæis pendens. Fuit autem Iocabel ipsius Mosi mater. Locus corruptus, Lege Iocabel ex Sacris. Apuleius Mosen et Iannen, tanquam celeberrimus Magos, conjungit.*" G. HORNII. See notes on Sulpicius Severus, p. 69, (Leyden Edition, 1647.

\* A Dutch author writing in the year 1656, extracts from various sources an account of miracles all testifying to the truth of the Catholic doctrine respecting the Blessed Sacrament; and to these facts he appends this observation: "*Hisce præstigiis Satan figmentum Papisticum Transubstantione stabilire conatus est.*" *Magica de spectris et apparitionibus spectrum, de vaticiniis, Divinationibus, Lib. ii. p. 584, § 93, in a chapter which bears this title. "De mirabilibus Satanae præstigiis, ludibriis et imposturis ad stabilendam et confirmandam idolatriam de adoratione et invocatione sanctorum mortuorum, cultu statuarum sive imaginum, et ad confirmandum de purgatorio, &c., juxta vaticinium S. Pauli Apostoli, 2. Thess. 2."*—p. 532.

A somewhat similar course to this is pursued by Gallé (Servatius Gallæus) in his Treatise on the Oracles of the Sybils: "*Dissertationes de Sibyllis, earumque Oraculis.*" He admits that they may have spoken true prophecies though inspired by demons, whilst he denies the gift of prophecy to holy virgins in the Catholic Church.

An English author, Mr. Godwin, includes the great saint and glory of the Anglo-Saxon Church, St. Dunstan, in his list of "necromancers!" and professes to give a biography of which a single sentence will suffice to prove, that not one act in the life of the saint is truly stated.

"His (St. Dunstan's) *career of profligacy* was speedily arrested by a dangerous illness, in which he was given over by his physicians."—Godwin's *Lives of the Necromancers*, p. 223.

There is nothing in Brithfrith's, nor in Osbern's life of St. Dunstan, to justify this assertion; and Mr. Godwin, it may be re-

It is curious to mark, in connexion with this subject, the struggles that are made by the opponents of the Catholic faith. They either endeavour to show that there can be no such thing as supernatural circumstances, because these tend to prove that our faith is given by Heaven ; or, being unable to deny them, they then affirm that these violations of the ordinary laws of nature emanate not from the AUTHOR of all good, but from the prompter to all sin. Having steeled their consciences to unbelief, because belief cannot be preserved without a mortification of the senses, they fly to heresy, and if heresy afford no safe shelter to their reasoning faculties, then they cast themselves into the slough of despair and deism. Even *there*, there is no rest for them in this world ;—they are disturbed by “dreams,” shaken by “presentiments,” and have to fight with the fantasies of *clairvoyance* and the phantasmagoria of magnetism. Their last staff—materialism—shatters within their grasp, and wounds the hand that wields it. Abandoning the simplicity of faith, they confound themselves with their own ratiocination, and promulgate as panaceas for reflection such notions as these :

“Dreaming,” Ennemoser says, “is the gradual awakening of activity in the organs of imagination, whereby the presentation of sensuous objects to the spirit, which had been discontinued in profound sleep, is resumed. Dreaming,” he adds, “also arises from the secret activity of the spirit in the innermost sensuous organs of the brain, busying the fancy with subjective sensuous images, the objective conscious day-life giving place to the creative dominion of the poetical genius, to which night becomes day, and universal nature its theatre of action ; and thus the supersensuous or transcendent nature of the spirit becomes more manifest in dreaming than in the waking state. But, in considering these phenomena, man must be viewed both in his psychical and physical relations, and as equally subject to spiritual as to natural operations and influences ; since, during the continuance of life, neither soul nor body can act quite independently of the other ; for, although it be the immortal spirit which perceives, it is through the instrumentality of the sensuous organs that it does so ; for, of absolute spirit with body, we can form no conception.”\*

marked, does not venture to cite any authority for his statements respecting St. Dunstan, except *his own*. It would be difficult to discover, *even in the English language*, a more complete perversion of facts than this narrative by Mr. Godwin, of the life and actions of the great Saint Dunstan.

\* Night-Side of Nature, vol. i. pp. 48, 49. This is Mrs. Crowe's

We know not whether the reader can comprehend this. The authoress (Mrs. Crowe) seems to be under the apprehension that it is "rather difficult," and therefore kindly and benevolently appends the following explanation, to which we fear the same objection may be made, as that which Mr. Dangler, in *the Critic*, offers to the words of a foreign interpreter, viz., "that *the interpreter* is, of the two, the more difficult to be understood."

"What is here meant," (thus explaineth Mrs. Crowe) "seems to be, that the brain becomes the world to the spirit, before the impressions from the external world do actually come streaming through by means of the external sensuous organs. The inner spiritual light illumines till the outward physical light overpowers and extinguishes it. But in this state the brain, which is the store-house of acquired knowledge, is not in a condition to apply its acquisitions effectively; whilst the intuitive knowledge of the spirit, if the sleep be imperfect, is clouded by its interference."\*

What a moiling with words there is here, because there is a manifest disinclination to recognise a distinction between the soul that is given by God, and the animal life of the body. The point may be admitted to be one of great nicety; but to our understanding, an old English monk has told more truth about it, and given utterance to that truth in fewer words and simpler language, than all the metaphysicians of the High-Dutch School were ever yet able to bring to bear upon any one point to which they directed their very keen minds, very refined intellects, and very mystified language.

The passage to which we refer may be found in Wolstan's Life of St. Ethelwold, the coadjutor of St. Dunstan in the reformation of Church abuses. Before Ethelwold

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translation of Ennemoser; but whether correct or not we cannot affirm; for Mrs. Crowe, like many other lady-authors, quotes indistinctly—not stating precisely the page nor volume in which her authorities may be found. Upon seeking in the London Library for the two works of Ennemoser, for the purpose of this article—his "*Geschichte der Magie*," and "*Der Magnetismus in Verhältnisse zur Natur und Religion*,"—we discovered that at the moment some other subscriber was puzzling himself with their perusal. Our escape from such books we regard as fortunate, that is if the above extract be a correct specimen of them.

\* Night-Side of Nature, vol. i. p. 49.

was born, it is stated by his biographer, that "upon a certain day his mother stood in the midst of a great crowd which was in the church, and whilst she was desirous of being present at the celebration of the Holy Mass, she felt his soul entering the body of her unborn child, (*sensit animam pueri quem gerebat in utero venisse.*) This circumstance the saint, when a bishop, joyfully narrated to the present writer. The fact not only plainly shows that he was an elect of God even before he was born, but also that the soul of man does not, as some affirm, originate with his mere father and mother, but that it really and indubitably is to be believed, that it is a vital spirit given to each individual, and vivified by the Creator alone," (*et animam procreati hominis non, ut quidam aestimant, a patre vel a matre exsistendi initium sumere; sed, ut vere et absque omni dubietate creditur, a solo creatore vitalem spiritum vivicari, et singillatim unicuique dari.*)\*

That which is easy of comprehension, can readily be believed; whilst that which is mystified by many words, and clouded in obscure phrases, may find advocates, but must in vain seek for steady disciples, or ready martyrs. Amid the dark ages of superstitious idolatry, men gave credence to brazen-headed oracles, to "juggling fiends," to those who paltered with them "in a double sense," and now that the age is supposed to be "enlightened," even whilst the dismal superstition of arianism is prevalent, men are found to hail as a prophet a juvenile cordwainer who ventilates his fabrications, under the designation of "the Poughkeepsie Seer." †

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\* Vit. S. Ethelwold, c. i. §. 4. Act. Sanct. (August.) Vol. i. pp. 89, 90.

† "The Principles of Nature, her Divine Revelations, and a Voice to Mankind. By and through Andrew Jackson Davis, the 'Poughkeepsie Seer,' and 'Clairvoyant,' Stereotype Edition. John Chapman, Strand." This is a miserable compilation of gross blasphemy, and rank nonsense. In it will be found "Charles Fourier, in more than one passage placed in the same category with our Lord and Master, and with Confucius, Zoroaster, Brahma and Mohammed." Fraser's Magazine for February, 1848, p. 136. See an excellent analysis of this publication in the same number of Fraser, pp. 127, 142. The English edition of the work has a laudatory preface by its publisher; the same person, if we mistake not, who has been giving to the world Unitarian Tracts under the deceptive title of

Ours is indeed a strange age,—and ours a most curious country ; for faith is to be found for things far harder to be believed than the mystery of the Redemption, or the miracles in “the Lives of the Saints.” Some are firmly persuaded that men are in a state of progression from tadpoles ; some believe that their neighbours can read not with their eyes, but with their stomachs ; some affirm that diseases are cured by the touch of the mesmeriser ;\* some are certain that a few passes with one man’s hand before the face of a second, will enable that person to know what is passing in the mind of a third ; that there is and can be no secret from the sensitive somnolescent ! And now we have the proof in “the Revelations of Nature,” that unbelieving Arians can believe that a beardless shoemaker is a prophet, because he has had a magnetic sleep, in which he acquired (as he says, and they repeat) a knowledge of all things, past, present, and future, from the creation of the world to the terminology of Kant and Fichte ; aye, far, far away “beyond the seven stars ;” in fact, every thing but—orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody !†

Superstition springs up after superstition in this country, and always finds willing adherents and ready followers. Can it be that there is something peculiar in the Anglican constitution which tends to foster this unhappy inclination towards what is a violation of the laws of reason and the ordinances of God ?

It is a curious history—the history of superstition in this country—from the days when Druidism had its great

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a “*Catholic Series*.”!!! The “Principles of Nature,” by “the Poughkeepsie Seer,” is an additional proof of the degradation to which Socinianism can reduce the human intellect.

\* It may be a consolation to some Irishmen to know, that a very distinguished person in this way formerly was a Mr. Greatrak, to whose honour, it was said by Mr. Glanville, “I think the man is free from all design, of a very agreeable conversation, not addicted to any vice, nor to any sect, or party ; but is, I believe, *a sincere Protestant*.”—Glanville, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, p. 53.

† It might have been supposed that the Revelation which brought to an uneducated man the secrets of science, might have taught him grammar too, to express them in ! The *Athenæum*, No. 1053, p. 6, Art. on ‘the Principles of Nature !’” See same periodical, No. 1055, p. 61, in which the motives to the publication of the book are referred to.

university established in Britain,\* to the present, in which bigotry parades about our roads its annual idol,† and doing so, reminds us of the cruel rites once practised in this country, and compels us to bear in mind, that those who are most eager in perpetuating the degradation of the Catholic, are themselves besotted by superstitions which that Church has always struggled to eradicate. ‡

Imperial Rome engrafted new superstitions upon those which had been indigenous to Britain, and the regret of the patriot and saint, Gildas, was, that the efforts of the Church had not been of sufficient avail to extirpate them. "Nec enumerans patriæ portenta ipsa diabólica, pene numero vincentia Ægyptiaca, quorum nonnulla, lineamentis adhuc deformibus intra vel extra deserta mœnia solito more rigentia, torvis vultibus intuemur." §

It is from the laws of the Church, from the "Capitularies" of Archbishop Theodore, and the "Confessionale" of Archbishop Egbert, that we know what were the superstitions which the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes imported into this country; whilst the "Modus imponendi pœnitentiam" demonstrates how much these superstitions were aggravated by the invasion of the Danes.

Mr. Thorpe, in his truly valuable edition of the "Ancient Laws and Institutes of England," gives a specification of these several superstitions. They bear the following designations: Blot; Drycræft; Ellen; Frith-geard; Frith-splot; Fyrht; Galdor; Hlytas; Hwata; Hwatunga; Liblac; Lac-wiglung; Man-weorthung; Stacung; Swefen-racu;

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\* "Disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur; et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur."—Cæsar, Bell. Gall. Lib. vi. c. 13.

† The stuffed figures of Guy Fawkes are but imitations of those described by Cæsar: "*alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent: quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent; quibus succensis, circumventi flamma exanimantur homines.*" Bell. Gall. Lib. vi. c. 15. As to the ancient British superstitions, see Camden's *Britannia*, vol. 1. pp. lvi. lviii. Milner's *History of Winchester*, vol. i. p. 6.

‡ See a collection of papers entitled "Folk Lore," by W. J. Thoms, Esq., Secretary of the Camden Society.

§ Gildas, *Hist.* c. 2.



Treow-weorthung; Unlibbe; Wil-weorthung. We adopt the explanation given to these by Mr. Thorpe in his Glossary: *Blot* is a sacrificing to idols. *Dry-craeft*, witchcraft, magic. *Ellen*, the elder tree. "This tree," observes Grimm, as quoted by Mr. Thorpe, "was held in great veneration by our forefathers; when they had to lop it, they usually repeated this prayer: '*Lady Elder, give me some of thy wood, then will I give thee also some of mine when it grows in the forest.*' This was generally repeated kneeling, with head uncovered and folded hands." *Frith-geard* was the enclosure around a sacred stone-tree, or fountain, and regarded as a sanctuary. *Frith, splot*, the latter part of this compound Mr. Thorpe regards as equivalent to the English *spot*, and *plot*, and hence that *Frith-splot* has the same signification as *Frith-geard*. *Fyrht*, a superstitious practice, the precise nature of which is not now known. *Galdor*, an incantation, enchantment. *Hlytas*, lots. This is the same practice—that of learning a person's future fate, by the opening of a book, and reading the first line that presents itself to the eye—of which we have a memorable instance in the case of Charles I., and Lord Falkland. Both, it is said, consulted the Virgilian lots in the Bodleian. The former opened on,

"Jacet ingens litore truncus  
Avulsumque humeris caput, et sine nomine corpus."

The latter on,

"Heu miserande puer! si qua fata aspera rumpas  
Tu Marcellus eris."

It is said by the author of "The unseen World," (p. 207.) that "the early Christians continued the use of the same lot, only substituting the Bible for Homer and Virgil. *But it was strenuously opposed by the Fathers, who called it an undoubted tempting of God.*" Hwata, augury, divinations. "Homini Christiano certe non est permisum vana auguria facere, uti gentiles faciunt, (id est, quod credant in solem et lunam, et in cursum stellarum, et auguria tempora exquirant, ad negotia sua incipienda.)" Egbert. Pœnitent. Lib. ii. § 23. *Liblac*, witchcraft, particularly that kind which consisted in the compounding

and administering of drugs and philtres. *Lic-wiglung*, necromancy. *Stacung*, sticking pins or needles into a waxen image of the person against whom the witchcraft was directed. *Wil-weorthung*, well, or fountain worship. Some of these superstitious practices will not bear explanation, and other are comprised in the canonical prohibitions passed in the reign of king Edgar.

"And we enjoin, that every priest zealously promote Christianity, and totally extinguish every heathenism; and forbid well-worshippings, and necromancies and divinations, and enchantments, and man-worshippings, and tree worshippings, and that devil's craft, whereby children are drawn through the earth, and the vain practices which are carried on on the night of the year, and with various spells, and with Frith-splots, and with elders, and also various other trees, and with stones, and with many various delusions, with which men do much of what they should not."\*

With these may be included the various superstitions prohibited in Theodore's Pœnitentiale, c. xxvii. § 1. 26. Egbert's Confessionale, § 29, 32. Egbert's Pœnitentiale, Lib. ii. § 22, 23, and the Northumbrian Priests' Laws, § 48, 50, 54. By these men were forbidden to perform sacrifices to devils; to practise magic or enchantments; to destroy another by witchcraft; for a woman to put her daughter on the house-top, or in the oven; for any one to burn corn where there is a corpse; to seek the future in the Psalter or the Gospel; to admit diviners or fortune-tellers into the house, (Egbert. Excerpt. § 149); to practise witchcraft for love purposes; for a woman to practise witchcraft on her child, or draw it through the earth, &c., &c.†

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\* Canons enacted under king Edgar, § 16. Thorpe's translation, ancient LL. and Institutes of England. p. 396. This very canon, if it did not originate from, must have had the full sanction and approval of St. Dunstan, included by Mr. Godwin amongst "the Necromancers."

These canons will be found in Spelman, vol. i. pp. 447, 476. Labbaeus, vol. ix. pp. 682, 696. Wilkins, pp. 82, 97.

† See Thorpe's ancient Laws and Institutes of England. Index to the Monumenta Ecclesiastica in verb, "Superstitions." See also in Glossary "*invultucicis ligaturæ*"—the latter, we may remark, is illustrated by Bede, in his charming narrative of the soldier Imma, the pains of whose bondage were mitigated by the masses said for him by his brother, a priest. Hist. Eccles. Lib. iv. c. 22.

In looking to the progress and history of superstitions in this country, we must consider how successful was the invasion of the Northmen, popularly known as the invasion of the Danes; how they rooted themselves firmly into the soil, and held possession of the lands in so many parts of England, and in so doing, debased the population by a vice, for which it is still notorious—that of drunkenness.\* We cannot be surprised to find that their superstitions, like their evil habits, should have been universally diffused, and that both should, despite of all the efforts of the Church to the contrary, have procured and retained adherents.

The lands of the Northmen might be said to be not merely the home, or the refuge, but the very sanctuary of witchcraft and superstition. It was there that men worshipped Odin, an account of whom is a compendium of the feats of the modern mesmeriser, and the old magician, for

“Odin could transform his shape: his body would lie as if dead or asleep; but then he would be in the shape of a fish, or worm, or bird, or beast, and be off in a twinkling to distant lands upon his own, or other people’s business. With words alone he could quench fire, still the ocean in tempest, and turn the wind to any quarter he pleased. Odin had a ship which he called *Skidbladnir*,

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\* In the *Inglinga Saga* alone, the following incidents are to be found, with respect to the drunkenness of the kings of the Northmen. In chap. 14, a king whilst drunk falls into a mead-tub and is drowned. In chap. 22, a king whilst dead drunk is tied up to a tree and hung. In chap. 24, two kings kill one another at a drinking feast, and the guests were so drunk, they did not perceive what had occurred. In chap. 40, six kings are burned at a drinking feast by their host. In chap. 44, a king, in the fury of drunkenness, burns himself, his wife, and his household; and in chap. 53, a king, when drunk, is killed by his slave. A monkish writer describing the potations of the Northumbrian Danes, states that it was a swine-like drunkenness “*inebrietate suatim.*” *Act. Sanct. August.* vol. i. p. 91, § 12. At the time of the Norman invasion, it is remarked by William of Malmsbury, (*Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. iii.*) that “Drinking in parties was an universal practice, in which persons passed entire days and nights;” and in Book 2, chap. viii. he says distinctly that the English acquired the vice of drunkenness from the Danes—“*a Danis potationem discerent.*” See on this subject *Pontopiddan Gesta et Vestigia Danorum*, vol. ii. pp. 208, 209.

in which he sailed over wide seas, and which he could roll up like a cloth. Odin carried with him Mimir's head, which told him all the news of other countries. Sometimes, even, he called the dead out of the earth, or set himself beside the burial-mounds; whence he was called the Ghost sovereign, and lord of mounds. He had two ravens to whom he had taught the speech of man; and they flew far and wide through the land, and brought him the news. In all such things he was pre-eminently wise. He taught all these arts in Runes, and songs which are called incantations, and therefore the Asaland people are called incantation-smiths. Odin understood also the art in which the greatest power is lodged, and which he himself practised; namely, what is called magic. By means of this he could know beforehand the predestined fate of men, or their not yet completed lot; and also bring on the death, ill luck, or bad health of people, or take the strength or wit from one person and give it to another. Odin knew where all missing cattle were concealed under the earth, and understood all the songs by which the earth, the hills, the stones and mounds were open to him; and he bound those who dwell in them by the power of his word, and went in and took what he pleased. From these arts he became very celebrated. His enemies dreaded him; his friends put their trust in him and relied on his power, and on himself. He taught the most of his arts to his priests of the sacrifices, and they came nearest to himself in all wisdom, and witch-knowledge. Many others, however, occupied themselves much with it, and from that time witchcraft spread far and wide."\*

How perfectly true this is, references to a single author—Torfaeus—and that not one professedly treating on magic, will abundantly testify. We are, for instance, told by Torfaeus, in his '*Historia Rerum Norvegicarum*,' of Oddus, a magician who could overturn ships by his incantations; of a giantess riding on a wolf, and guiding it by a snake; of magic flies of a sky-blue colour, and believed to be evil spirits; of witches riding through the air; of a prophetess witch, so celebrated as to gain the name of 'a Sybill;' of a man turned into a serpent; of a witch changed into a cow; of giants who were great magicians; of witches riding on the backs of whales; of heroes having their skins so indurated by incantations, that they were impenetrable to the sword or battle-axe; of ships with

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\* The *Ynglinga Saga*, chap. 7, as translated by Laing, in *Chronicle of Kings of Norway*, vol. 1, pp. 220, 222. See *Sagen der Könige Norwegens*, vol. 1. p. 455.

black sails, and no sailors; gigantic sea-witches, and of bags filled with fire.\*

These are but a few illustrations amid a multitude of the superstitions which the Northmen brought with them to England, that long agitated the ignorant, and the profane, and that always have been opposed, derided, or denounced by pious Catholics.

Thus William of Malmesbury, in alluding to the stupid tale about the body of Alfred the Great wandering about his tomb in Winchester, observes that the superstitious notion was derived from Pagans, refers in proof of his assertion to the tenth book of the *Æneid*, v. 641; whilst the author Torfaeus, to whom we have already alluded, not only states that such a superstition prevailed amongst the Northmen, but gravely gives two recipes for preventing the wicked dead from walking again in this world.† The first is to burn the bodies, and throw the ashes in a running stream; and the second is to cut off the head of the deceased, and then place it between his legs! The same author admits that the superstition was in his day, believed even in his own country—that being one of the lands of Europe in which “the reformation” has been permanently established.‡

And now we have in the book before us—‘the Night Side of Nature’—a testimony and a proof how much of superstition still prevails in England; even though England does boast of itself as not merely an ‘enlightened’ nation, but as a peculiarly ‘Protestant’ country: and even though it may be affirmed that the most Protestant of all its kings—that is if Protestantism were to be tested by the severity, baseness, and cruelty of his persecutions of Catholics—was a most vigilant and inexorable executioner of witches. If fire and faggot could have purified the land

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\* See vol. 1. pp. 107, 108, 227, 228, 265, 321, 346, 437, 462, 467. Vol. 2, pp. 70, 71, 149.

† As to the existence of “malignant demons,” See Farmer’s *Letters* to the Rev. D. Worthington, pp. 65, and 70.

‡ *Nec dum apud rude vulgus satis extirpata.* Hist. Norveg. vol. 1. pp. 330, 331. For other superstitions of the Northmen respecting the dead, see same volume, pp. 401, 402, see also Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire infernal*, in verb, vampire!

from the very names of sorcery and witches, James I. must have succeeded in the effort.\*

The "reformed" faith in England was not strong enough to triumph over opinions and practices which had baffled the exertions of the Catholic Church. Witchcraft and superstition still remained, because wickedness, sin, and vice have always found an abode in the human heart, and because unholy desires will always seek their fulfilment through unholy means. If man will not place himself within the precincts of the Church—uplift his thoughts with her prayers, and guide his steps by her precepts—if he will fly from the Church and abjure alike her lessons and her commands, then he will find that the human mind is parasitical, that despite of him, it will cling for some support exterior to itself, and turning from the tree of life, will, in seeking for that of knowledge, find itself intertwined with the poison-bearing branches of error and of superstition.

We point to the fact of heresy flourishing in this country more than in any other—having a powerful establishment upheld by law, and maintained by immense wealth, and surrounded by an innumerable brood of sects—all "Protestants," because all "protesting" against the Church of Rome; and yet all, whether within or without the rich domains of the Establishment, bewildered by so many ridiculous fancies about "dreams," "presentiments," "warnings," "wraiths," "self-seeings," "apparitions," "troubled spirits," "haunted houses," "spectre-lights," &c., &c., &c., that it requires a book in two volumes to give any thing like an accurate idea of their essence, their variety, their symptoms, and their manifestations.

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\* "Several unhappy women, inhumanly committed to the stake, though persevering in asseverations of their innocence to the last, were burnet quick after *sic ane crewell maner, that sume of thame deit in despair*, renunceand and blasphemand; and *utheris half burnt brak out of the fyre*, and wer cassin quick into it agane, quhuil thay war brunt to the deid."—Haddington Collections, ad l. Dec. 1608, as quoted in the Darker Superstitions of Scotland, p. 672.

For an account of the cruel persecution inflicted upon persons accused of witchcraft in the anti-catholic states of America, Sweden, Scotland, and Switzerland, see Dublin Review, vol. xx. pp. 74, 75. The first to direct public opinion against these cruelties, was Frederick Spe, a Jesuit—same vol. p. 76.



Let it not be supposed that we cast a censure upon Protestantism in all its contradictory developments, because there has flourished along side of it a multitudinous variety of superstitions. We only point to it as a fact which should teach its adherents modesty, and at least render them cautious in making the Catholic Church responsible for witchcraft.\* We point to the fact as one calculated to inspire the discretion of silence, especially when it can be shown, that the recovery of "The Table-Talk of Luther," and its translation into English, are gravely ascribed to the visitation of a ghost!—to the manifestation of the spirit of Martin Luther himself.

"About six weeks after I had received the said book," says Captain Bell, its first English translator, "it fell out, that I being in bed with my wife one night, between twelve and one of the clock, she being asleep, but myself yet awake, there appeared unto me an ancient man, standing at my bed-side, arrayed all in white, having a long and broad white beard hanging down to his girdle steed, who, taking me by my right ear, spake these words following unto me: 'Sirrah! will not you take time to translate that book which is sent unto you out of Germany? I will shortly provide for you both place and time to do it;' and then he vanished away out of my sight."†

To prove the value of the book, which thus required a ghost to insist upon its translation, we shall content ourselves with a single extract, in which it is to be observed the words used profess to be those of Martin Luther himself, *strictly*, and, we are sure, when the task is performed by Mr. Hazlitt, *correctly translated into English*:

"There was at Nieuburg," says Luther, "a magician, named Wildferer, who one day swallowed a countryman, with his horse and cart. A few hours afterwards, man, horse, and cart, were all found in a slough some miles off. I have heard too of a seeming monk, who asked a waggoner, that was taking some hay to market, how much he would charge to let him eat his fill of hay? The man said a kreutzer, whereupon the monk set to work, and had

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\* See Bekker, *Die Zauberwelt*. Preface, p. 3. the German translation.

† Captain Henry Bell's Narration, or relation of the miraculous preserving of Dr. Martin Luther's book, as quoted in introduction to the Table-Talk of Martin Luther, translated by W. Hazlitt, p. vii. in Bogue's European Library.

nearly devoured the whole load, when the wagoner drove him off."\*

We must admit, in common justice, to Mrs. Crowe's book, that, amid its incredibilities, there is nothing so monstrous as the two stories here quoted from the lips of Martin Luther himself. †

The book of Mrs. Crowe is one that has a great moral attached to it. A perusal of its details, as curious as they are interesting, will tend to convince the most sceptical that outside of the Catholic Church the soul cannot find rest, the spirit peace, nor the heart contentment—that man must, once he departs from the Church, prepare himself for sore trials, and sad conflicts—that a denial of Church dogmas can never bring with it that repose which their reception confers—that a disobedience to its commands more often harasses the nerves, and vexes the spirit, than the willingness and the struggle to put them into execution—that a refusal to believe in purgatory will not guard the recusant from a belief in ghosts—that a disavowal of the power of the Church to work miracles will not save their repudiator from a firm credence in the powers of the mesmeric manipulator—that an absolute disbelief of the promises of God to His Church, will not protect the infidel from the presentiments of accidental circumstances, nor the prognostications of fortunetellers; because the lives of the most virulent impugnors of the Christian faith prove them to have been the most abject slaves of superstitious fears. ‡ The extreme point of infi-

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\* The Table Talk of Martin Luther, § d. lxxx. p. 251. (Bogue's European Library. In the same page and following paragraph, it is mentioned that Luther being asked what he would do with witches who spoil milk, eggs, and butter, in farm yards replied, "I should have no compassion on these witches, *I would burn all of them.*"

† The feat of devouring an immense quantity of hay is ascribed to Dr. Faustus.—Godwin's *Lives of the Necromancers*, p. 343.

‡ "—Comme Rousseau, ils ont peur du nombre 13; Comme Bayle, ils ont un préjugé contre le Vendredi; Comme Volney, ils recherchent l'explication des songes; Comme Helvetius, ils consultent les tireuses des cartes; Comme Hobbes, ils étudient l'avenir dans des combinaisons de chiffres; Comme Voltaire, ils redoutent les présages."—Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire Infernal*, Preface, p. 3.

delity, is the lowest limit of mental despair: "quello estremo stato di intellettuale disperazione."<sup>\*</sup>

Yes, a great moral lesson can be drawn from this work, as if it were a book of devotion, and not, as it is, a combination of the wildest tales, that fear and fancy ever yet wove into a series of marvellous narratives, and that moral is, that "there is no rest for the wicked;" that in the Catholic Church, and the Catholic Church alone, in this world can the weakness and fragility of our nature find peace—peace with God, and peace with ourselves.

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ART. VIII.—*Histoire de Henri VIII. et du Schisme D'Angleterre.* Par M. AUDIN. Paris, Maisin, 1847.

THE intellectual progress of France during the last half century has been unparalleled in history. In science, in romance, in intellectual and social philosophy, her writers are alike distinguished by number, genius, and fertility. Political and forensic oratory, almost unknown in France before the first revolution, and then suddenly developed only to rise at once to a pitch of frantic extravagance, has since that time been cultivated by the noblest intellects, with a success unexampled in any of the other countries of Europe.

But it is the progress of France in historic studies, the industry which her writers have displayed in elucidating the obscurities of the past, their zealous ardour in rooting out the errors which long deformed historical knowledge, and their success in regenerating history by substituting animated narrative for what used to be a catalogue of dates and battles accompanied by dry disquisitions,—this it is that presents the most remarkable feature in her intellectual civilization.

In truth, there appears something in the French mind peculiarly adapted for historic studies. That vivid imagination, which is one of its most distinguishing character-

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\* Rosmini, Frammenti di una storia della Empietà.

istics, from the faintest traces left in the ancient chronicles catches at and comprehends character. Hence, the genius of their historians is most triumphant in the descriptive school, and nowhere is it more conspicuous than in their works on mediæval history. We do not speak of professedly Catholic writers, as Montalembert, Le Normant, Jager, or Ratisbonne. There are others in whom it is equally remarkable. Capefigue, profoundly imbued with all the poetry of Catholicity, in those works in which he has most displayed his great genius and learning, portrays the labours of the priests of the middle ages, and the services which they rendered to the advancement of art, civilization, and christianity; and the same spirit is discernible in many of the historians of the philosophic school, even while they regard the Church but as a human instrument of progress and civilization.

But space would fail us in enumerating the French historians who have taken France for their subject. The number even of those who have contributed to the history of England is surprising; and especially if we confine ourselves within that period of time to which we referred at the commencement of our article. M. Guizot has produced one of the most interesting works in existence upon the English revolution; and to other works of French historians upon English history, although we have grave and serious differences with them on vital subjects, we cannot deny the greatest ability. Theirs are truly "pictured pages." Carried away by their enchanting style, we behold the obscurity of former ages illumined by their genius; the princes and heroes of the past live again before our eyes; we follow them to the council and the battle; we hear their voices and the clashing of their arms; and behold in a clearer light the motives and impulses which swayed their actions.

"Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit  
Purpureo."

Amongst the worthiest members of this distinguished school, M. Audin is deserving of a high place. He is already known to the public by his histories of Luther, of Calvin, and of Leo X.; his *History of Henry VIII.* now completes his labours upon that period; and these works, from the astonishing industry which they display in the search through almost every library in Europe for the most

authentic records, the discernment in the selection of materials for history from this huge and undigested mass, and the ability in reducing the whole to clear and connected narrative, fully entitle M. Audin to be styled the historian of the Reformation. It is gratifying to perceive also the progress of a Catholic spirit in the publication of these biographies, and the encouragement which they have received. They afford an entire safeguard against the historical misrepresentations of Mosheim and D'Aubigné; and we trust we shall soon see them all translated into English, and used as class books in every Catholic College throughout the kingdom.\*

Henry VII. had no more of legitimate hereditary right to the crown of England than his rival who perished at Bosworth; and the parliament which was summoned by the conqueror was careful not to acknowledge a lineal descent, or any hereditary right whatsoever. It was enacted "by the assent of the lords, and at the request of the commons, that the inheritance of the crowns of England and France, and all dominions appertaining to them, should remain in Henry VII., and the heirs of his body, and in none other;" thus, for the first time in English history, the parliamentary title founded upon the will of the people appears placed above all other claims. Hence, it was an essential part of the policy of Henry VII. to strengthen his crown by an alliance with foreign states; and after long negotiations, the marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales, was concluded with Katherine of Arragon, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella.

"The marriage took place in the church of St. Paul in the presence of an immense multitude on the 1st of November, 1501. Arthur was fifteen years of age; Katherine was some months older than her spouse. The prince had gained the affections of the court by his engaging qualities. His tutor André had made a brilliant scholar of him; the boy read Homer and Virgil. The young girl, by her modesty, her beauty, the dispositions of her heart and of her mind, became the object of general admiration."†

Almost all historians who have not been blinded by pre-

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\* The Life of Luther and that of Calvin have both been translated into English, and published in Philadelphia.

† Audin, vol. i. p. 53.

judice or bigotry, unite in the praises of this unfortunate Queen. The talented authoress of the *Lives of the Queens of England*, avows that "the grand abilities of Katherine of Arragon, her sustained integrity of word and action, united with intrepid firmness, commanded even from her enemies that deep respect which her sweetness, benevolence, and other saintly virtues would not have obtained unsupported by those high queenly qualities. Sustained by her own innate grandeur of soul, her piety, and lofty rectitude, she pressed through all her little trials without calumny fixing one spot upon her name."

And truly the daughter of Isabella of Castile was a worthy bride for the proudest monarch upon the earth. Educated by her mother among the orange-groves of Grenada, and in the towers of the Alhambra, she was able to read and write Latin—a knowledge which she employed in the careful perusal of the scriptures. Her person beautiful, her disposition amiable, wedded in the spring of life to the youthful heir of the crown of England—one certainly might have prophesied for her in this world a most fortunate and happy destiny. Alas for the instability of human hopes! Arthur and his bride dwelt at the Castle of Ludlow in Shropshire; and four months after his marriage he died suddenly, carried off by consumption, or, according to Bernaldes the Spanish historian, by the plague.

The avaricious and rapacious Henry VII. was unwilling to restore to Spain the moiety of the Infanta's dowry, 100,000 crowns, which he had already received. And Ferdinand and Isabella were anxious to preserve the friendship of England, whilst they were threatened with the hostility of France. It was accordingly agreed that Katherine should remain in England, and that a marriage should be contracted between her and the youthful Henry, now Prince of Wales, within two months after the arrival of a dispensation from the Pope; that it should be solemnized when the young prince had completed his fifteenth year; and that Ferdinand should previously transmit to London another sum of 100,000 crowns, the remaining moiety of Katherine's dowry. But this sum was not ready to be advanced by the impoverished monarch of Spain. And Henry VII., in consequence, compelled his son, on the day before he completed his fifteenth year, (23rd of June, 1505,) the canonical age of puberty, to protest that he had done and would do nothing to make the contract



made during his minority valid in law. Three years after Henry VII. died, regretted by none.

The accession of Henry VIII. to the throne was received by the people with the most unbounded joy. His youth and the beauty of his person attracted and fixed their admiration. Passionately devoted to every knightly exercise—fond of brilliant armour, of silk and velvet dresses, of tournaments and masques, and all opportunities for public display, he continually exhibited himself before the people; he was an excellent horseman, and an ardent follower of the chase. His education had been far superior to that which usually falls to the lot of kings. The policy of his father had destined him for the Church—for the Primacy of England. Hence he had been educated in all the scholastic theology; and even after his father's death, the taste for reading which his earlier education had implanted, continued, and Henry was in all probability the best informed monarch that ever sat upon the throne of England. The first public act of his reign was his marriage with Katherine, which took place about six weeks after his father's death. Our space does not permit us to go in detail through the various acts of Henry's reign during the nineteen years of his marriage with Katherine of Arragon. The charms, it is well known, of a young maid of honour, the sister of one of his former mistresses, but whose prudence would not yield dishonourably to his desires, caused him to abandon Katherine; and never did the indulgence of an amorous caprice effect such a singular and important revolution.

The fictions of the most tragic romance can exhibit to us no spectacle more mournful than the story of the guilty, but beautiful and ill-fated Anna Boleyn. Wonderfully endowed by Nature—her features cast in a classic mould, her complexion fresh and clear, her hands and feet of an exquisite beauty, her figure perfect, somewhat inclining to embonpoint, in Audin's words we might call her "*plus jolie que belle*;" but she fascinated less by the charms of her person, than by her graces and accomplishments, her sportive wit and amiable coquetry, her cheerful temper, her sweet-singing voice, her skill in music and the dance, her poetic talent, the taste and elegance of her dress. Still, though charming all by her alluring beauty and sprightly graces, eager to display her accomplishments, and fond of admiration, she preserved a heart cold and

almost insensible to passion. Ambition for her had more charms than love. Thus gifted she became the Queen of one of the most powerful monarchs of the age; for a brief hour dazzled all in the splendour of her prosperity; then in her wretched end mourned for the lot from which she had arisen, and the vicissitudes of her cruel fortune. As with other celebrated and unfortunate Queens who have perished on the scaffold—like Mary Stuart and Marie Antoinette—although it is almost profanation to compare her with either—the sympathy excited by her beauty and misfortunes almost effaces the recollection of her follies; and at this distance of time we feel only commiseration for the fate of Anna Boleyn.

Anna had returned from France in 1523. The poet, Sir Thomas Wyatt, and Thomas Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland, declared themselves her lovers. Percy was the more favoured; but a new rival came into the field. The king no sooner beheld Anna than he became violently enamoured of her; he separated the lovers; and, by his direction, Wolsey used his influence with Percy to compel him to renounce Anna. Percy in a few weeks married the daughter of Lord Shrewsbury; and Anna was sent to the country to hide her sorrow. This was her first cause of enmity to Wolsey; she never forgot her early love, nor ever forgave the cardinal.

All this took place in the year 1523; not as Burnet, for obvious motives, misrepresents, in 1527. Henry now made Sir Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford. Anna became the queen of all the balls which Henry loved to give; when absent, she received from him the most tender letters. Of these, twenty-seven are now preserved in the Vatican library. As M. Audin justly remarks, these letters prove that, if Anna had consented at first to be Henry's mistress, he never would have thought of a divorce from Queen Katherine.

These court intrigues and whisperings of the divorce went on until, in September, 1528, Campeggio, the Pope's legate, arrived in England. Faithful to his instructions, the legate used his best endeavours to dissuade the king from the fatal project. He represented to him the stigma which the divorce would cast upon his reputation, the discontent of the people, the despair of a child, the death, perhaps, of the mother, the wrath of Charles V. These were the

advices which Campeggio gave him.\* But in vain. The court was summoned to decide upon the question of the divorce; Katherine refused to attend; and the legates were compelled to declare her contumacious. The interview of Wolsey and Campeggio with Katherine, when she announced her intention of appealing to the Pope, is graphically described by M. Audin:

"Henceforth, certain that his cause was lost with the two legates, Henry had but one hope: this was, in alarming Katherine as to the issue of the process, to engage her to abandon herself to the generosity of her husband, and so to prevent an appeal to the Pope. At the moment Wolsey was going to his bed, Lord Rochford, the father of Anna Boleyn, comes to entreat him, on the part of his majesty, to betake himself immediately to Bridewell, and to try by all possible means to persuade the queen to have recourse to the tenderness of the king, and to terminate by this act of submission a process which might disgrace her. Wolsey, in putting himself under the orders of the king, could not conceal from Lord Rochford the little hope which he had of the success of this step. He added in a severe tone that his lordship, and the lords of the council, had inspired the king with a fantasy very dangerous to the repose of the state, and for which neither God nor Christianity would thank them.

"He rose, caused a boat to be got ready, and went to seek Campeggio at his residence at Bathhouse, whence the two legates directed their steps towards Bridewell. The gentleman in waiting announced them. The queen was engaged in spinning: a skein of silk round her neck, and a spindle in her hand, she entered the saloon where the legates were waiting. 'Pardon, my lords,' said she to them, 'if I have delayed you long; what is it you want with me?'—'To converse with you in your oratory, if it please your grace,' replied Wolsey. 'My Lord,' replied the queen, 'speak aloud that they may hear from this all that you shall say: speak, I have no fear.'

"'Reverendissima majestas,' replied the Cardinal.

"'Speak in English,' said the queen, 'although I know a little Latin.'

"'Madame,' replied Wolsey, 'we have come to converse with you on a message from his majesty, entirely in the interests of your highness, to whom we are devoted.'

"'Thanks,' said Katherine, 'I was working with my maidens when you entered; behold my counsels, my lords, I have no others. They are not very skilful, my maidens, no more am I, and I know not how I, poor creature, shall reply to men like you. But, since

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\* Audin, vol. i. p. 466.

you wish it, we will proceed into my oratory.' The queen then lifted her skein of thread, arranged her spindle, presented her right hand to Campeggio, her left to Wolsey, and all three entered the oratory.

"What passed in this secret interview? No one knows; only, at the end of this conference, which lasted long, they remarked on the face of the queen traces of abundant tears, and on those of the two legates marks of deep emotion. Amongst the people it was said that Katherine had declared to the legates, that she, Queen of England, spouse of Henry Tudor, mother of Mary, daughter of Ferdinand, aunt of Charles V., would bear her appeal to the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff."\*

In contrast with this affecting picture, we give a speech of Henry's concerning his contemplated divorce from the queen. It is preserved by one of the old chroniclers:

"'If it be adjudged,' said Henry, 'that the queen is my lawful wife, nothing will be more pleasant or more acceptable for me, both for the clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions I know to be in her. For, I assure you that, besides her noble parentage, she is a woman of most gentleness, humility, buxomness, yea, and of all good qualities pertaining to nobility, she is a good companion. So that if I am to marry again I would choose her above all women; but if it is determined in judgment that our marriage is against God's law, then shall I sorrow, parting from so good a lady and loving companion. These be the sores that vex my mind! These be the pangs that trouble my conscience, for the declaration of which I have summoned you together, and now you may depart.'"

Thus in hypocrisy and lying commenced the Reformation — hypocrisy which has no parallel except in the scene of duplicity which prefaced the final sentence pronounced by Cranmer in 1533.

"Commenced without shame, the part of a man with two faces was continued without remorse by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry, henceforth certain of the support of his accomplice, resolves to obtain from the clergy united in convocation the divorce which he laboured in vain for five years to force from the Pope. The preliminaries of the proceedings were confided to Cromwell. As Katherine would have been able, in invoking the protection of the pope, her natural judge, to perplex the measures which Cromwell wished to take, the parliament prohibited, by an act and under the

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\* Audin, vol. i, p. 484.

penalties inflicted by a *Præmunire*, i. e. imprisonment and forfeiture of goods and chattels, all appeal from the spiritual judges of England to the Roman Pontiff: they chained the tongue which they could not yet cut out.

"The members of the convocation were composed of two classes, the theologians and the canonists. To the one belonged the question of religion, to the other of law. It was asked from the theologians if a dispensation from the Pope could authorize a brother to marry the widow of his deceased brother in a case where the marriage had been consummated; it was asked from the canonists if the depositions made before the legates established according to the canon law, that the marriage had been consummated. The debates lasted two days, under the presidency of Cranmer. They collected the votes.

"The opinions of the theologians were taken by *aye* and *no*. On the question whether Henry could lawfully marry Katherine, sixty-six said no, sixteen said aye. Of forty-four canonists six only voted against Henry. At the convocation of York which had taken place on the 6th of May following, the same mode of proceeding was introduced; there were but two dissenting voices in each class.

"Then there passed between Cranmer and Henry, or Henry and Cranmer, for we know not which plays the first part, a scene like what we find in the ancient Italian Theatre, and which belongs rather to farce than to high comedy.

"The archbishop demands of the king in a letter, and with an emotion of piety agreed on beforehand, that it should be permitted to the primate to summon before the archiepiscopal court of Canterbury the case of the divorce, in order to avert the perils which menaced the succession.

"The prince resists; not because he refuses to believe in the dangers which the concerted zeal of the prelate intimates to him, but because in his supplication Cranmer has spoken of judging this spiritual cause by virtue of the divine laws of the Holy Church; and Henry wishes no more of this formula, which has served its turn. The archbishop, apologizing, becomes more pressing; prostrate at the feet of his sovereign, he asks him, in the name of God alone, authority to pronounce on the validity of the marriage. The king yields, but in yielding he reminds the archbishop that as king he recognized no master on earth but God, and submits himself to the authority of no created being. And since it is in the name of God, and of God alone, that the minister of the master of all spiritual jurisdiction in the kingdom wishes to take cognizance of the case, he could no longer resist the humble request of the suppliant."\*

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\* Audin, vol. ii. p. 77.

The year 1529 was signalized by the fall of Cardinal Wolsey. Wolsey was raised solely by his talents from an humble origin to the highest offices in the state. "Begot by butchers," according to the old rhyme, his parents, however, had the means to send him to Magdalen College, Oxford, where his proficiency was so great that he was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts at the early age of fifteen, hence surnamed the boy-bachelor. He was unquestionably one of the greatest ministers whom England has ever seen. Passionately ambitious of wealth and fame, he united with this personal ambition the utmost zeal for the glory of England, and the most earnest devotion to the interests of the Church. No ecclesiastic in England ever possessed such power. He had eight hundred servants in his train; and amongst them many nobles, many knights, whose sons, at the same time, in his house received the best education which the age and country could afford. He was a friend to the poor, and beloved by them; a zealous law reformer; a most ardent and generous patron of learning. Christ Church, Oxford, still remains a memorial of his munificence; the palace of Hampton Court a monument of his architectural taste. Foreign scholars, the most eminent, were invited by him to settle in England, and were there supported by his bounty. These revered his memory, with one exception,—Erasmus, who alone was found to cast slanders upon the great Cardinal after his fall.

"From his cradle

He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one,  
Lofty and sour to those that loved him not,  
But to those men that sought him, sweet as summer."

In Audin's words, with the exception of probity, he had all the qualities which constitute a statesman. And in his old age, hurled from power by the spite of a minion to a tyrant's pleasure, he had good reason to utter in his last moments the celebrated words: "Had I but served my God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have forgotten me in my gray hairs." Wolsey died on one of the last days of November, 1530. As Dr. Lingard remarks, the best eulogy upon Wolsey's character is to be found in the contrast between the conduct of Henry before and after the fall of the cardinal; so long as Wolsey was in favour, the passions of the king were confined



within some bounds ; afterwards, their violence astonished Europe, and still remains the marvel of posterity.

The death of Wolsey smoothed the way for Anna Boleyn to that throne which was destined for her to be but the prelude to the scaffold. On the 1st of September, 1532, she was created Marchioness of Pembroke, being the first female peer that was ever created in England ; but the date of her private marriage with the king is one of the most disputed points in history, it being impossible to reconcile the various and contradictory accounts which have been preserved concerning it. The marriage was not publicly acknowledged until the 12th of April, 1533. It was the signal for far more important changes.

The assumption by Henry of the style of Head of the Church, the divorce of Katherine, and the coronation of Anna, were hurried through in rapid succession. The English schism became *un fait accompli*, and Catholicism was driven from England for a time. We entreat the attention of our readers to the following extract, where M. Audin, in one of his happiest efforts, portrays the benefits which England had derived from the faith which she now exiled from her shores :

"At the approach of the storm which is going to burst over England, the indignant reader has long since named the man who provoked it by his insane passion for a young girl. Remove from the heart of Henry his love for Anna, and England would still preserve the old faith of Dunstan. What then had Catholicism done to deserve to be so cruelly punished ?

"Catholicism had wrested England from the darkness of Paganism ; had instructed her in the divine truths of the gospel ; had civilized her ; after the conquest of the Normans, had protected her against the oppression of the conqueror, and during a period of many centuries had preserved her from the tyranny of the Barons. 'Tis to Catholicism that England was indebted for the Great Charter, for the important statute *de tallagio non concedendo*, and for many more laws, the foundation and the bulwark of her privileges and liberties. At the time of the schism she had but one shepherd, as she formed but one flock. There was no little village which had not its chapel, where the people repaired at the striking of the clock, to assist at the holy mysteries. On the borders of the roads were raised niches always adorned with flowers in the spring-time, and where the pilgrim in passing would salute the image of the Virgin Mary, or of the patron saint of the country. In the fields, the silence of the night was often interrupted by pious psalmodies ; for if the Church had taught the inhabitants of

the island to pray, she had also taught them to sing in an harmonious rhythm the praises of God. There was beside each cathedral a school of song for the child who was destined for the service of the altars, and also a library full of good books sacred or profane, intended for the use of the learned. Hospitals raised everywhere and endowed by the munificence of the bishops, and where the poor man was certain to find a bed, and remedies for his suffering body,—all these sacred edifices, these bridges with which England was covered, to whom has she owed them?—To the priests or to the monks. When she separated herself so violently from Rome, commerce, literature, the arts and sciences, were flourishing there. The court of the sovereign was brilliant, the treasury still rich: no national debt; the fourth part of all tithes was reserved for the subsistence of the poor: they knew no poor-rate.”—Audin, vol. ii. p. 106.

It has been so constantly insisted by Protestant historians and controversialists,\* especially those of the high-church party, that the Anglican Church reformed herself, that we are constrained, (although we have treated the subject at length in a former number) to give a brief summary of the historical facts of this Reformation, in order to show that the changes in the ecclesiastical constitution and doctrine did not proceed from the Church, but were forced upon her.

The first step in the English Reformation, was the compulsory acknowledgment of the king as head of the Anglican Church. When the hatred of Anna Boleyn directed the caprice of Henry against Wolsey, the king directed the attorney-general to file informations against the cardinal, on the charge of having violated the law by the acceptance and exercise of the legatine authority. Now, Henry himself, as by law he was empowered to do, had permitted Wolsey to accept and exercise that authority; but the cardinal, intimidated, suffered judgment to pass against him, and threw himself upon the king's clemency. Two years later the attorney-general, at the command of the king, filed similar informations against the whole body of the English clergy. They had submitted to an authority, which, by the conviction of Wolsey, had been proved illegal, and had therefore incurred the penalties of a

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\* Some indeed, like Dr. Miller, are compelled to admit that the Reformation in England began “on a mere claim of power.” Miller's *Philosophy of History*, vol. iii. p. 294.

præmunire. The answer which the convocation returned to this proceeding was very characteristic of the times. It was supposed that money was Henry's real object, and the convocation, in January 1531, voted him a present of £100,000 in return for a pardon. But Henry replied that the present would not be accepted unless it should be accompanied by the acknowledgment that "he, and he alone, was the protector and supreme head of the Church of England," and that "the cure of souls, which they exercised under him, had been committed to his charge." The convocation was dismayed, and various interviews and negotiations ensued, until a compromise was effected, that the recognition of the king's supremacy should run in the following words:

"Of which Church we acknowledge that his majesty is the singular protector, the only and supreme lord, and also (as far as is allowed by the law of Christ,) the supreme head."

The convocation was besought to accept the recognition of supremacy in this form: the archbishop said that it would not be necessary for any individual to express himself in words, his silence would be taken for consent. "Then," exclaimed a voice, "we are all silent."\* In this manner was the recognition of the king's supremacy, even under this qualification, forced upon the English Church, with the penalties of præmunire hanging over its representatives.

The next step was a prohibition issued by the parliament, at the command of the king, against the payment of annates, or first fruits, to the Pope. In order to pave the way to the illegal measures which were about to be brought forward, Sir Thomas More was removed from the chancellorship; and on the death of Warham, Henry placed in the see of Canterbury that crafty but clever hypocrite, Cranmer. We translate from M. Audin the narrative of Cranmer's consecration. It is a terrible spectacle of hypocrisy and perjury before the very altar of God.

"It was on the 30th of March that the ceremony of consecration was to have taken place in Westminster Abbey. Cranmer had as assistants the bishops of Exeter, Lincoln, and St. Asaph's. Be-

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\* Wilk. Con. iii. 725. Dublin Review, vol. viii. p. 340.

fore his consecration, the bishop, according to the pontifical ritual, is obliged to take the oath of obedience and fidelity to the Holy See, his hand extended on the book of the Gospels, and calling God and the saints to witness ; he is obliged also to swear to receive with submission the traditions of the fathers and the constitutions of the Apostolic See, to obey St. Peter in the person of the Pope his vicar, and of his successors, and to preserve his chastity.

"Cranmer, however, neither believed any longer in the authority of the fathers, nor in the constitutions of the Apostolic See ; for him the Pope was neither the vicar of Christ, nor the head of the Church ; the Pope, on the contrary, was marked on his forehead with the sign of the beast, to make use of the same expressions of the reformer which his niece had given him. The vows of chastity, which he was about to renew, were in his eyes but a sacerdotal mummery, since he was but recently married at Nuremberg. The words which were pronounced in consecrating him, were taken from a book which he rejected as stained with idolatrous forms. The saints whom he was to invoke could not, according to his doctrine, hear him from the heavens above. The bishops who consecrated him belonged to that Babylonish woman clad in scarlet, whom he had scoffed at in his suppers with Osiander.

"At the time of his consecration the bishop receives the power of raising to the priesthood those whom he shall deem worthy, and by breathing on the forehead of the neophytes, to give them the power of changing, by their holy benediction, the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, of offering up the Holy Sacrifice, and of saying Mass for the living and for the dead. But Cranmer neither believed in the Mass as a sacrifice, nor in the virtue of prayer for the dead, nor in Purgatory, nor even in the real presence. He had left all these superstitious beliefs in the bed-chamber of his second wife at Nuremberg ; married twice, he could not, according to the canons, even have been raised to the priesthood. What can he do now, tear the bull of Pope, break his crozier, rend his pallium, overturn the pontifical ritual, and confess in a loud voice his new faith ? This would have been too much courage for Cranmer.

"Perjured before his oath, according to the expression of Cardinal Pole, a few moments before his consecration, and with the permission of the king, he called four witnesses and a notary into the chapel of St. Stephen. And before them he protested that in the oath which he was about to be obliged to take, for the sake of form, to the sovereign Pontiff, he meant to bind himself to nothing which might do an injury to the law of God, or to the rights of the king or of the state, or which might place any obstacle to those reforms which he might judge it suitable to carry out in the Church of England, disowning every sort of oath, that his representatives at Rome might have taken contrary to that which he had taken to the king his master. Cranmer then entered the Church, put on

the sacerdotal vestments, walked to the high altar, where the bishops of Exeter, Lincoln, and St. Asaph awaited him, turned towards his witnesses, declared to them that he persisted in the protest which he had just read to them, raised his hand, and upon the open book of the Gospels swore the oath appointed by the ritual. He promised not to divulge any secret that the Pope might intrust to him, directly or through his legates; he promised to defend the Holy See and the rights of the Holy See; he promised to treat with honour the Apostolic legates, and to aid them in necessity; he promised to go and pay his homage to the sovereign Pontiff at least once every two years; he promised neither to sell nor to alienate, nor to infeoff the possessions of his See without the consent of the sovereign Pontiff.

"The ceremony of the anointing began. When he had been consecrated Cranmer reminded the witnesses a second time of his protest, took the oath a second time to the Holy See, and received the pallium from the hands of the Pope's legates.

"Three oaths, three perjuries, in two hours, if we count accurately. Cranmer, in taking off his mitre, ought to have applauded himself for this day's work, if it be true, as a modern historian assures us, that these three oaths, and these three perjuries, are a proof of the candour and loyalty of the Archbishop."—Audin, vol. ii. p. 76.

The work of destruction went on: appeals to Rome, the suing out of licenses, dispensations and bulls, were forbidden under the penalties of *præmunire*. Now all this was the work of the civil power,—of Henry's creatures in either house of Parliament, who already foresaw the destruction of the monasteries, and were eager for the spoils. The convocation gave no consent; it cannot be pretended that the church consented by the votes of her bishops in the upper house; out of the twenty-one bishops only seven appeared in the upper house during the session, and of these only four attended the debates on ecclesiastical affairs: viz., Cranmer, Stokesley, Gardiner, and Clerk. These were the very men employed by the king in his plans of overthrowing the papal power. Of the rest of the bishops we can only say, that by their absence they showed that they disapproved of what they had not the courage to oppose, and, like all seceders, were in the wrong.

But the fact which shows most clearly how the Anglican Reformation was forced by the civil power upon the church is, that after that the parliament had passed an act declaring "that the king, his heirs, and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the church of England," Henry

found it necessary to delegate his spiritual jurisdiction to a layman. Thomas Cromwell was appointed his vicegerent, "with full power to exercise and execute all and every that authority and jurisdiction appertaining to himself as head of the church, and to appoint others his delegates and commissaries to execute the same under him; authorizing them to visit all dioceses and churches, to summon before them all ecclesiastical persons, even bishops and archbishops, to inquire into their manners and lives, to punish with spiritual censures, to issue injunctions, and to exercise all the functions of the ecclesiastical courts."\*—Monstrous delegation of usurped power to a layman, raised by the unscrupulous exercise of talent from a most humble to an exalted position! This Cromwell too, when the clergy were assembled in convocation, alleged, that as of right the first place in the assembly belonged to the king, as head of the Church, so in his absence it belonged to his vicegerent; and accordingly Cromwell was admitted to preside, and to subscribe the resolutions before the archbishops.

Thus the power of a wicked and lascivious tyrant, backed by the strength of his nobles, rapacious for the wealth which their ancestors in better times had consecrated to learning and religion, commenced, and carried it forward, step by step. The cry had been raised by these men that the Papal supremacy was an abominable tyranny; yet they substituted for it the supremacy of Henry, nay, the delegated supremacy of Cromwell, whose path through England was so soon to be marked by confiscation, rapine, and sacrilege.

We must pass over the scenes of violence which follow—the subjugation of the parliament, the coercion of the bishops and clergy, the martyrdom of Fisher and Sir Thomas More. Neither can we dwell upon the bull of Paul III., though it was fraught with so many important consequences. It is not easy to keep pace with the events which followed.

The year 1536 was a busy year in England. The public mind was astonished by the succession of numerous and important events; the death of Queen Katherine, the execution of Queen Anna, the marriage of the king with

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\* Wilk. Con. iv. 784. Dublin Review, vol. viii. p. 348.



Jane Seymour, the suppression of the monasteries, and the consequent insurrection.

The suppression of the monasteries was in effect a revolution, when we consider the number and wealth of these institutions. According to Hume, 645 monasteries, 90 colleges, 2374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals were suppressed. The revenue of these establishments amounted to £161,100, being about the twentieth part of the national income derived from land. Although money has since that period been greatly reduced in value, it is still worth while to compare this income of the monasteries with what has lately been computed to be the revenue of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The annual revenue of Oxford amounts to £174,000; that of Cambridge to £149,000.

M. Audin's account of the processes by which the ruin of the monastic institute was effected is exceedingly interesting; but as we have already entered at some length into this question, we must be content to refer the reader to the work itself. Few positions in history are more incontrovertible than the justice of the character of the English Reformation, which has been summed up in a few words by M. Guizot.

"It is not true that in the 16th century the court of Rome was tyrannical; it is not true that the abuses of it were very numerous; never perhaps, on the contrary, was the ecclesiastical government more easy, more tolerant....The religious revolution was in England a royal work; the king and the episcopacy divided amongst themselves, whether as riches or as power, the spoils of the preceding government, that of the papacy."

M. Audin reads the panegyric of the monasteries of England, and its other religious institutions, in the commotions to which the suppression gave occasion. The famous Pilgrimage of Grace was one of the most formidable risings which England ever beheld. A starving peasantry, deprived of the relief which the benevolent monks had been accustomed to afford them in their season of distress, were joined in their assemblage by all the upholders of the ancient faith in the Northern counties, and proceeded en route towards London. In Yorkshire 40,000 appeared in arms, bearing white standards with the cross of Christ upon them. As in previous popular insurrections in England, the leaders assumed mock names, such as the Earl of Poverty, Captain

Cobler.\* Their complaints were set out in the articles which they sent to the king. They first complained of the suppression of the religious houses, "whereby not only is the service of God not ministered, but the poverty of the realm unrelieved." In their fourth article they say, "Wee, your trew and faithfull subjects, thynkes that your Grace takes of your counsell, and very nygh about you, such personages as bee of lowe birth and small reputation, which have procured the premysses, most especiall for their single lucre and advantage; the whych we suspect to be the Lord Cromwell, and Sir Richard Rich, chancellor of the augmentations."

However, by the sagacious management of the Duke of Norfolk, who was appointed by the king to lead the forces against the insurgents, this formidable gathering was at last disbanded.

Cromwell, the king's most active agent in the suppression of the monasteries, was himself destined to be the next victim to the royal caprice. His fate, at least, it would be difficult to regret. Although he had apparently secured his own power to the fullest extent, by the policy with which he had divided the abbey lands and the confiscated wealth of the monasteries amongst the greedy courtiers, yet his fall was one of the most sudden in history, and he was not supported by a single friend except Cranmer. His prosperity, up to the very time before the caprice of the king flamed into open hostility against him, was unexampled in its career. The successful minister, the builder of fortresses, the levier of subsidies, the suppressor of monasteries, the king's vicegerent upon earth, lately created Earl of Essex and Knight of the Garter, Lord High Chamberlain of England—who could have predicted his fall? It appears one of the mysteries of history. The only probable solution is, that Henry's savage temper, enraged with the deceit which he considered had been practised upon him as to the beauty of Anne of Cleves, inclined him to listen to some false accusation brought forward by Cromwell's enemies at court.

Cromwell, a short time before this, had put a question to the judges, viz., whether, if parliament should condemn a man to die for treason without hearing him, the attainder could be disputed? This most unconstitutional question

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\* Speed, 772.

the judges were of course unwilling to answer in such perilous times; but being pressed by the king's command, they at last replied that an attainder in parliament, whether or not the party had been heard in his defence, could of course never be reversed in a court of law. Historians who are fond of contemplating the retributions of Providence, remark, that he who thus solicited the ministers of the law to give the seal of their approval to a violation of justice, was himself the earliest victim to the new system which he had thus laid before them. Arrested and attainted without trial, or opportunity of defence, in the prison all courage deserted him. The haughty arrogance which had characterized him in the zenith of his splendid career was changed into the most abject cowardice. The walls of his prison at one time resounded with entreaties for mercy, at another with blasphemies and imprecations. He sends this letter to the implacable king:—

“Written at the Tower with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your Highness's pensioner and most miserable slave. Most gracious Prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy.”

In vain.—On the 28th of July, 1540, he was executed on Tower Hill.

So perished Cromwell. His wonderful ability, his laborious and unceasing application, his great capacity for affairs, his finesse and diplomacy have been made by Protestant historians the groundwork of the most extravagant eulogiums. These qualities Cromwell is admitted by all to have possessed; but when we also consider his avarice, servility, contempt for honesty and justice, we must brand him as one of the worst characters of that bad time—that bad time when England and London submitted to those fearful spectacles which now we can scarce contemplate without a shudder.

We translate from M. Audin a description of a strange and horrible execution.

“Two days after the punishment of Cromwell, London was the theatre of horrible executions. Catholics and Protestants were condemned to death, the one for having denied the supremacy of the king, the other for having rejected certain dogmas of the Church of Rome. Dreadful time! when to admit the authority of the Pope was a treason, or to reject the tenets of the Pope was a

heresy; two crimes, of which the one carried with it the punishment of the axe and of the halter, the other that of the pillory and of the funeral pile. *Bowell*, *Abel*, and *Featherstone*, doctors in theology, were convicted of having formerly defended the validity of the marriage of *Katherine*, and of not acknowledging the sacerdotal supremacy of the king; *Barnes*, *Garret*, and *Jerome*, of supporting heterodox opinions. Imbued with certain doctrines which were beginning to spread themselves in Germany, *Barnes* and his disciples pretended that man reconciled with God could not fall away from grace: that God is the author of sin: that good works are not necessary to salvation: that forgiveness of sins is not an obligatory precept. The same decree visited with the same punishment a man for having corresponded with *Cardinal Pole*, another for having wished to surprise *Calais*, a third for having concealed a rebel. Catholics, Protestants, traitors to their country were fastened on the same hurdle, and dragged from the tower to *Smithfield*. At the sight of these sufferers, turned back to back, a stranger would wish to know the cause of their condemnation; they would reply to him that some were about to die for having attacked the Catholic religion, the others for having avenged it. None of the accused had been permitted to defend himself. *Barnes*, after having explained his belief to the people, turned himself towards the sheriff, and asked him if they knew the crime for which they conducted him to *Smithfield*. The sheriff indicated to him, by shaking his head, that they were ignorant. *Barnes* approaching the stake, said, 'that the species of punishment which he was going to suffer would sufficiently inform them of the crime of which they had judged him guilty.' Catholics and Protestants prayed to God for the king before they expired."\*

The last years of *Henry's* life were occupied with the divorce of *Anne of Cleves*, the execution of *Katherine Howard*, an unimportant war with France, the intrigues and contentions between *Cranmer* and *Gardiner*.

*Henry's* last victim was the celebrated *Earl of Surrey*. A poet, a warrior, and a statesman, a leader of the king's armies abroad, an ornament to his court at home, without fear and without reproach, this noble youth did not afford the slightest pretext for the accusations of his enemies. The charges which were preferred were the weakest and most paltry to be found even in the reports of the *State Trials of England*. His father, the *Duke of Norfolk*, in right of his wife, had quartered upon his shield the arms of her father, the *Duke of Buckingham*, which, by reason of

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\* *Audin*, vol. ii. p. 413.

his lineal descent from John of Gaunt, was the royal arms. Surrey, even after the attainder of Buckingham, had continued to bear these arms quartered upon his shield. This absolutely was the chief of the charges brought against him upon his trial for high treason. On that trial he proved that his ancestors had invariably worn the same arms at home and abroad, and that he himself had constantly borne the same shield in the king's presence. The packed jury, however, of course, found him guilty, and within a week after he was executed with extreme privacy, almost mystery, all the circumstances attending his death being concealed.

London, for fifteen years accustomed to the bloodiest executions, still was affected to a wonderful degree at the fate of the gallant Surrey.

"The women recalled to mind his beauty and his youth, the soldiers his courage, the learned his poetic talents, the artists his love for pictures and statues. Never more, said they, will he see again the cottage which he constructed at Norwich, the first attempt to introduce the Grecian architecture into England. The fair Geraldine has lost her chevalier and her bard. Never more shall he, in the magic mirror of Cornelius Agrippa, see her carelessly reclined on a couch of flowers, reading the verses of the poet."

But the world was now to be freed from the burden of this loathsome tyrant, King Henry VIII. For some time past, owing to the enormous size of his ulcerous body, it had been necessary to use machinery to lift him into his chair, or from one room to another. His sufferings were terrible; a slow fever consumed him, whilst the agonies of his mind would not permit him to think of death.

On the 26th of December, 1546, Henry called for his will, and made some changes in it. He erased from the list of executors Gardiner, Norfolk, and Shirly: he founded a certain number of masses for the deliverance of his soul from purgatory—a strange disposition in the will of Henry VIII. It was evident that his end was approaching; but the doctors remembering that one of those acts of parliament which had created so many new treasons, rendered it capital for any one to prophesy the death of the king, were afraid to announce to him his doom. Sir Anthony Denny at last had the courage to tell him the fatal news. The king heard it with apparent resignation, then sent for Archbishop Cranmer, who remained with him to the last.

Henry sometimes murmured the name of Anna Boleyn; anon a horrible agony would come upon him, and with glaring eyes fixed upon the darker recesses of his chamber, he exclaimed, "monks, monks, monks." So he lingered. About two in the morning, Cranmer perceiving that the hand of death was on him, asked him to show by some sign that he died in the Christian faith. Henry pressed his hand, and at the same time exclaiming "all is lost," gave up the ghost. So perished this mass of clay, moistened with blood, the founder of a church between which and the apostles there is a chasm of fifteen hundred years. He was fifty-six years of age, and had reigned thirty-eight. He expired on the 28th of January, 1546.

The king was carried to Windsor to be buried. The coffin stood all night among the broken walls of Sion House. The leaden fastenings having given way by reason of the shaking of the carriage, the pavement was wetted with the king's blood.\* The plumbers who came in the morning to solder the coffin, saw a dog creeping and licking up the king's blood. This was regarded at the time as the fulfilment of Friar Peyto's prophecy in 1533, when he compared him to Ahab, and told him that the dogs in like manner should lick his blood.

We have now reviewed the history of the Tudor dynasty up to the accession of Edward VI., a little more than three hundred years before the time when we are writing. Withdrawing our minds from the excitement of the politics of the present stirring times, and in the pages of this history retracing the annals of the past, there appears much to give sorrow, much to give joy to one interested in the progress of the world, the advancement of mankind.

Whether we have advanced in real morality and virtue since that time, may be a question, but we have at least got rid of that open indecency which then characterized the manners of the great, and which is evidenced in the unhappy story of Katherine Howard, and the scandals which were current concerning the Princess (afterwards Queen) Elizabeth's life whilst under the roof of Admiral Seymour. †

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\* State Papers, vol. v. p. 94.

† Hayne's State Papers, vol. i. p. 99.



What shall we say of the days which are yet before us? Who shall unravel the web in which the weird sisters have inwoven the destinies of our own generation? Who shall venture to predict what is to be the state of society in Europe within the next half century? One thing at least is certain:—

“Still we know that through the ages one increasing purpose runs,  
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the  
suns.”

Faith, Labour, Honesty, and Perseverance, have still their power to elevate in the scale of humanity the nations of the world which adopt them. God is great: He is watching us: His mercy and goodness endure for ever. The fertile lands smile in verdure beneath the heavens: the seed multiplies beneath the warm showers of the spring: the summer suns ripen the bountiful harvests: the process of life goes on. The millions of the human race are fast increasing, and day by day become more prosperous and better educated. The words, God, Liberty, Truth, have still a significance, and find a response in men's hearts even in the saddest days of atheism, despotism, and dishonesty. “Neither is it the part of a well-regulated, but rather of a perverse mind, to seek glory rather than practise virtue, and for one to desire to be crowned before he hath contended. In vain does one endeavour to rise to the height of glory, who has not first been illustrious in virtue.”\*

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ART. IX.—1. *Pius the Ninth; or the First Year of his Pontificate*, By Count C. A. DE GODDES DE LIANCOURT, of the Pontifical Academy of the Lincei at Rome, and JAMES A. MANNING, Esq., of the Inner Temple. Two vols., 8vo. London: Newby, 1847-8.

2.—*Lombardy, the Pope, and Austria*. By G. BOWYER, Esq., D.C.L. London: Ridgways, 1848.

3.—*Pio IX.* Por D. JAIME BALMES, Presbitero. Madrid, 1847.

**A**MONG the great characters that occupy the theatre of European affairs, there is none more conspicuous, none more illustrious than the august Pontiff, to whom

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\* St. Bernard, (Sermon on St. Victor.)

these works principally relate. Perhaps it may appear to some readers that this sentence was penned some weeks, or even months ago, when a full tide of popularity, domestic and foreign, seemed to bear him triumphantly along. But it is not so; we are writing after many outward circumstances of his position have changed, after tidings the most afflicting have reached us, of his temporal subjects' conduct towards his sacred person, and of his virtual deprivation of worldly power; when he stands before Europe as renouncing the offered glory of being the head of an Italian confederation, and sacrificing to his highest duties all that to most had seemed most brilliant, in his public position. Even at such a moment, more than at any previous one, Pius IX. is in our eyes the noblest and most exalted character among the princes of Europe. It is not yet time for us to explain our reasons for this opinion: we must first address ourselves to a wearier task, that of reviewing what has been written concerning him; because we are sure that nothing is more likely to give a false view of the real greatness of character, which distinguishes our holy Pontiff, than the miserable collection of spurious anecdotes which have been circulated about him, and which form the staple of the first work upon our list. Where simplicity of habits, earnestness of purpose, mildness and even tenderness of disposition, and straightforward honesty form the real features of character; what can be more wretched, or more annoying than to see these overlaid with tinsel, and converted into the artificial forms of one acting a part? The work itself is a joint composition; and we should have little hesitation in setting down the compilation to its French, and the translation to its English, author.\* To the former consequently is due the

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\* There are many blunders which must be attributed to this two-fold parentage, and which we should not think worth mentioning, were they not cautions against trusting the book in graver matters. Thus, priests are called repeatedly *abbots*; i. e., *abbés*! Pope Sixtus V. is always in the first volume called *Sextus* (p. 186); we are told that the Pope was born in a city "in the *marshes* of Ancona" (p. 158), that is, the *Marca* or *Marches*, (as it would have been called in ancient times with us, when we had a "Lord of the *Marches*.") We read of an officer called "President of the *Cences*" (p. 270), which we defy any mere English reader to understand. The Pope is said to have appeared "habited in the red

substance and the romance of the book. For, romance certainly it is, far more than history. Its author has the privilege belonging to writers of fictitious narrative, of knowing what passes in the most confidential interviews between the Pope and foreign ministers, or cardinals, which neither party can be well supposed to have told. For we do not think the Austrian ambassador, for instance, or a cardinal in opposition, would be likely to detail the smart repartees here said to have been darted out upon them by the Pontiff; and still less do we believe the latter likely to retail how, to use a phrase more expressive than elegant, he had "snubbed" the Austrian envoy, a truly good man. Nor, we will further add, is it in our estimation any thing less than a libel, to impute to one so gentle, so mild, and at the same time, noble-minded, the ill-bred and undignified, though perhaps dramatic speeches attributed to him. For example, take the following.

"One day, the Pope presided over a general assembly of the Cardinals, summoned to receive a communication of great importance. Cardinal Gizzi had just entered upon his functions as Minister Secretary of State, and was reading before the Grand Areopagus, a project of reform, which he had assisted his sovereign to bring about. This project, full of liberal and generous principles, suited to the wants of the state, was received with murmurs of disapprobation on the part of the majority of the Sacred College. The Pope listened in silence, without appearing to notice the opposition which manifested itself; the minister, on his part, also continued, until the interruption to the reading of the project of the hardy reformers became so violent that Cardinal Gizzi put down the paper, turned towards the Pope, and addressed him saying,

" 'Holy Father, shall I continue?'

"Pius IX. nodded affirmatively; but on recommencing his task, at a fresh article of the project, the murmurs redoubled, and the Secretary of State was compelled to stop short.

" 'You see, Holy Father, the opposition of their eminences compels me to resign those functions which your holiness had conferred upon me—permit me to lay at your feet the resignation of my office.'

" 'It is impossible for us to accept it,' replied the Pope; 'your good and loyal services are too important to the happiness of my

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*pluvia*" (p. 285), that is *pluviale*, or *anglicè*, *cope*. Cardinal Macchi is called the *sub-deacon*, for *sub-dean*, of the Sacred College, (p. 288.) *Perugia* is always *Perouse*, &c.

people, to permit us to replace you by another less zealous, and less talented, perhaps. Remain where you are.

"At this critical moment the Holy Father turned, with sovereign dignity, towards the refractory Cardinals, and added, still addressing the minister of state, Gizzi,

"If these gentlemen will not have me Pius, they shall have me Sixtus.'"—Vol. ii. pp. 12, 13.

Any one who knows that all the Cardinals are never convoked in this manner, to hear reports of the Secretary of State, nor to deliberate on secular affairs; that these "gentlemen" are too truly so, and moreover something higher, to raise murmurs of disapprobation, still less, after the fashion of her majesty's honourable Commons, violent interruptions to the reading of documents in the presence of their Sovereign Pontiff; any one who knows one whit of the manners, usages, and forms invariably observed among these exalted, refined, and truly Christian princes, and sees them all violated in Cardinal Gizzi's conduct as here detailed: finally, any one who can appreciate the character of the Pope, and *feel* how absurd the last sentence is in his mouth, will at once say to the author of such an anecdote,

"Quæcumque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi."

The character of a "Pius" is not one put on, as the story would insinuate; and he who has it in heart and nature, could no more doff it, to put on what we are told is meant by being a Sixtus ("haughty, determined, and severe," and "the terror of the world!") than the lamb could change natures with the lion, or, according to this description, with a fiercer animal.

At page 230 we have the narrative of an interview between the Pope and Count Lutzow, which winds up by the Pope's lifting up his eyes to heaven, and exclaiming:

"Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, et n'ai point d'autre crainte."

Had the verse been Dante's, we might have been half seduced into believing a quarter of the story.

But there is another class of anecdotes on which we wish to caution our readers, and of which this book is full, as the newspapers have been before it. Unfortunately, to people residing in Rome they are quite news; and they wonder how they should have been known afar off, and

not on the spot. We allude to those narratives, pleasing no doubt, which would lead one to think, that the Pope was quite in the habit of walking about the city alone and in disguise, talking to little boys and girls, and doing kind things to them (which he would be sure to do) and picking up adventures, nobody knowing him at the time, but all finding him out afterwards. We are aware that the Pope has visited schools and hospitals, and has sallied forth early to churches, as that holy and wise Pope Leo XII. had done before him, in a private manner, and sometimes on foot: and possibly he may have wandered, disguised, about the streets, to look after the state of the city or the poor. But if so, we have found, on enquiry, that the mass of stories based on this supposed practice are spurious, and were inventions. And such we have no hesitation in pronouncing a number of other anecdotes which have passed current, and which have been recorded in these volumes. But there are some which we consider deserving of more serious reprehension, because they are calculated to convey unjust impressions regarding preceding Pontiffs. And we feel sure that no one would more severely reprove the attempt to raise his reputation on the ruin of that of his predecessors, than the Holy Father himself. Unfortunately, contrast forms one of the easiest, and therefore most tempting, of common places: and we seldom see one person exalted, except at another's expense. This is the line which our biographers of the present Pope have thought proper to adopt.

We remember once reading a very clever Italian commentary upon Cooper's "*Bravo*," which went far to show the absurdity of supposing men to have lived in such a state of things as the novelist describes, where no one could walk two steps by day or night, without fear of an assassin's knife or of the lion's mouth. And really we are confident that any one who has had the happiness to live in Rome during the last fifteen years, will find the following description of its condition as completely fabulous, as that of the American romancer.

"This miserable system engendered demoralization, at the same time that it impoverished the public treasury. The police existed only in name, the safety of the person, and public as well as private property, depended upon chance or caprice, the good or bad disposition of the authorities. The high dignitaries, fatly endowed, pressed most unjustly and tyrannically upon their subalterns,

who were almost reduced to a state of mendicacy. The scales of Justice were broken, the band torn from its eyes; even the general officers did not hesitate to convert the army supplies to their own profit. Merit was powerless in its endeavours to penetrate the obscure mists of ignorance—talent was of no avail—favouritism was all in all. Intrigue and corruption, as naked as the statues of antiquity, openly displayed themselves without a blush. Military commissions replaced the regular tribunals for the condemnation—not trial—of political offenders; for all was accusation, defence was impossible, and the publication of the evidence being forbidden, the proceedings were conducted only in darkness and mystery. A simple inquisitorial examination, based upon the accusation of a suborned spy of the police, sufficed to procure the banishment, imprisonment, or execution of the innocent. Bands of police assassins—centurioni—thronged the city in the evening, and scoured it at night, insulting, ill-treating, and imprisoning all those whose manners or appearance displeased them. A neckcloth, waistcoat, or pocket-handkerchief, having the three colours, green, white, and red, even as depicting the natural colours of flowers, was a proof of guilt, which incurred the severest penalties. The private meetings of youth and friendship, at dinners or suppers, were punished as contrary to the safety of the state; and all societies and associations, except those of a purely religious character, were strictly prohibited. The administration marched onwards without control, the taxes depended upon the will of the treasurer or the caprices of the secretary of state, and the revenues of the Corporations were delivered over to the tender mercies of the chief of the provinces. There was no national representation, no code, no laws, no secrecy in correspondence, no respect for seals; arbitrary power, corruption, and abuse reigned paramount. Liberty and patriotism were, by the government authority, expunged from the Italian dictionary; the learned academies were suppressed,\* the scientific Congress forbidden, authors inserted in the register,† and the social and political improvements of man deemed a criminal idea of the deepest dye.”—Vol. i. p. 193-196.

We most deliberately assert that there is not in the whole of this passage one sentence that is true, or rather which does not contain a collection of untruths. It is positively reckless. To confute would be useless, though

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\* “Amongst others the famous Academy of the Lincei.”

† “All works upon philosophy medicine, politics, astronomy, geology, &c., were submitted to a council of Index, and if disapproved, their author's names were inserted in the Index or register, and their works suppressed in the Roman States.”



not difficult; but as the whole is a tissue of assertions, we trust they can deserve nothing more than a denial. But by way of specimens we will take one or two points. Let one be the second note. "All works upon philosophy, medicine, politics, astronomy, geology, &c., were submitted to a *Council of the Index*, and if disapproved their authors' names were inserted in the Index or register, and their works suppressed in the Roman States." A reader at first sight would suppose that the *Index* was a modern invention, certainly not that it dates from the Council of Trent! Now under Gregory XVI. nothing more was done than had been done in every pontificate since that period. Not *all* works on these subjects, but such as were denounced by proper authority as containing errors against doctrine or morals, on any subject, were as heretofore carefully and conscientiously examined by the Congregation of the Index, and if proved to be unsound, they, and not their authors, were put upon the Index, and forbidden, not in Rome alone, but through the entire Church. This statement we pledge ourselves to be literally true: alter the other to it, and see how much truth there was in it.

Another specimen of the truthfulness of this passage we will select in the following sentence. "A simple inquisitorial examination, based upon the accusation of a suborned spy of the police, sufficed to procure the banishment, imprisonment, or *execution* of the innocent," (accused of political crimes.) We will observe that the late Pope had a peculiar sensitiveness of mind, the result of a most delicate conscience, respecting the execution of a capital sentence, which led to his never permitting one, without first reading carefully through the entire acts of the trial; and many a life was spared, through his not feeling personally satisfied by the inculpatory evidence. The charge here made, therefore, would bear against the Pontiff himself: he must have been a party to the atrocities here described, not merely by implication, as the sovereign obliged by his office to prevent injustice, but directly and immediately as revising the whole of the proceedings. And is it likely that a man like Gregory, whose virtue and piety even the work before us admits, made himself a party to such nefarious, nay murderous, transactions as these?

But there is a better confutation than this induction; but to bring it better before our readers, we must give

another specimen of the historical accuracy of our biographers, in one of those wretched romances, whereby it is intended to exalt the character of the present Pope. We are told that there was a certain state prisoner, who had been immured in the Castle of St. Angelo for *twenty-two* years. The date is important. Soon after the present Pope's accession, a priest made his way into his dungeon: how, it seems difficult to make out; he seems to have given no bribe, to have had no permission, to have held no recognised office; he was unknown to the governor, cursed at by the turnkey. But no matter, some how or other he got in, though the prisoner "was forbidden to communicate with a living soul." (p. 213.) A dialogue took place, of which the following will suffice as a specimen: "Do you also come to count the furrows ploughed in my forehead before the natural time, to feast your eyes and your heart at the sight of my intense despair, and thus augment the malice of my butchers? Answer me!" The priest soothes him, and at last persuades him to write a letter to the Pope, which begins as follows: "When in despair I was cursing, one of your priests came and taught me to bless your name;" and is signed "*Gaetano*," which is much the same as if an English prisoner, petitioning the crown, were to sign himself "*William*." For *Gaetano* is but a christian, and very common, name. But letters are signed so in romance; and hence we have in this work a lady writing to the Pope, who subscribes herself "*Julia*," and he marries her in the church of the *Madonna degli Angioli* to a youth named "*Joseffo*," which is certainly no Italian name, though meant doubtless for Joseph!\* But to return: the priest is turned out by the turnkey, and makes his way to the governor, who being always an officer of noble family and high rank, had no doubt before this been to present his duty to the new Pope.† But this would have spoiled the story. Wherefore he gruffly accosts the intruder as "*Mr. Abbot*;" and on his demanding the liberation of *Gaetano*, answers very naturally: "*Why Abbot, you must be mad*." Then comes the *denouement*, which reminds us of several old melodramatic windings up; when a disguised monarch throws open his cloak and shows his stars. Mr. Abbot turns out to be the Pope, and

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\* Vol. ii. p. 106.

† Count Alex. Bolognetti-Cenci.

there and then orders Gaetano to be freed, and the guard at the gate to pay him military honours, and finally, oh! sad conclusion to the act of mercy! turns off the poor turnkey, whose chief offence seems to us to have been neglect of orders, in allowing an unknown person that access to the prisoner, without which the whole scene would have been lost.

But we have not got to the end of this wretched figment; and the rest we must give in the author's own words:

"Twenty-two years before the period in question, a young man of seventeen was accused of conspiracy, and condemned to death. He was marching boldly to the scaffold, when a young priest, who was passing, was greatly touched by his courage, his youth, and above all by his resignation. He calculated the time he would remain in the Chapel. Four hours were still before him. He set off instantly for the Vatican, and implored so earnestly the then reigning Pope, that he obtained the life of the young man, whose sentence, however, was commuted into worse than death—perpetual imprisonment. The young man was Gaetano—the priest was Pius IX."—Vol. i. p. 221-222.

This is altogether too absurd. Persons "marching"—i. e., carried in a cart—to execution, in a state of "resignation," are not kept above a quarter of an hour in the chapel, or, as it is called, the *conforteria*, at the place of execution. It would be incredible, if it were not false, that a young priest could get pardon or reprieve from the sovereign, for a culprit already at the place of execution. Had such an unheard-of event once happened, all Rome would have rung with it; yet no one had ever heard of this occurrence. But let us look at dates. Gaetano was delivered from the scaffold by the present Pope *twenty-two* years before his accession. The latter event took place in 1846; therefore the former occurred in 1824. Now the Canonico Mastai, now Pope Pius IX., left Rome for South America, July 3rd, 1823, and returned on the 5th of the same month, 1825; so that, by a most unlucky chance, he was away the very year that he is supposed to have acted the first scene of the drama allotted to him. But now let us come to a more serious and important conclusion. Gaetano is represented in this narrative as going to execution, because "*he was supposed to be a liberal*.....but he was neither a traitor nor

a conspirator." (p. 214.) In other words, in the reign of Leo XII., men were executed merely if *supposed* to be liberal! This is a falsehood so wicked, whether spoken of that pontificate, or of any before or since, that we cannot find an epithet sufficiently strong to mark our condemnation of it. So far from the statement being true, there was not even an instance of capital punishment at Rome during that or the following reigns for political opinions, not even for conspiracy or treason. Some were indeed executed for committing murder upon individuals with whom they had not even quarrelled, at the mere bidding of the secret political societies; for of such stamp were the "liberals" of those days. Two wretched men of this class, Targhini and Montanari, were executed for this very crime in Rome, having walked arm in arm with their intended victim in the evening, and then stabbed him at the church of St. Andrea della Valle. They died impenitent, and denying belief in christianity! If these be thy gods, O liberalism! the men "who dared to exercise the intelligence with which God had endowed them," (p. 214.) we, at least, will avow no sympathy with them. Nor will we allow the character of our holy and noble-minded Pontiff to be sullied, rather than praised, by depreciating that of his saintly predecessors by means of such paltry fictions and gross misstatements.

Among these we rank a tale that follows the above, intended to show the pernicious influence of what are called "Abbots." The lady alluded to in it was the Princess Seiarra; and a sufficient confutation of the story is to be found in the fact, that the young lady mentioned in the narrative was, as there stated, only her adopted child, and consequently not her heiress. The father therefore could have no control over any fortune left her by the princess, who chose, no doubt wisely, to leave her executorship in other hands. As to the "Abbot" who is said to have wormed himself into the princess's favour, and so supplanted the father in the administration, he had accompanied her to Italy, was, we believe, her near relation, and certainly under cruel trials, had proved her best friend. He is now in Paris in a position that would enable him easily to defend himself, being proprietor of one of the leading Catholic periodicals of that city. But enough of this. One thing puzzles us; how the *Centurioni*, beings

for many years about as fabulous as the Centaurs,\* had any thing to say to this matter, as M. de Liancourt insinuates. (p. 196.)

We must crave indulgence of our readers if we have been tediously long in our criticism of a book, which seems written with a view of exalting the present Pope. For, in truth, it is a calumnious and most uncatholic work, containing sentiments which no sound member of the Church can view with less than abhorrence, and yet affecting to be a Catholic production. If the reader doubts what we say, let him, in addition to former references, glance at p. 154 of vol. 2., and he will throw down the book in disgust. †

We now proceed to touch upon some of the real incidents of the life of the Sovereign Pontiff, chiefly keeping in view what may be justly supposed to have tended to the formation of his character, or may serve to show it in its proper colours. Born of noble parentage, ‡ he received in early life that education which is generally bestowed in Italy, and which may be termed, in fact, Catholic, framed, not with reference to any particular profession, but preparatory to any choice that may be made in maturer years, either of a secular pursuit, or of that better part which can be neither taken nor flung away. Hence it is not surprising how easy was the transition in the early life of the Pope, from the military, to the ecclesiastical, career. Every year of previous application had qualified him to be either

\* These were a sort of rural police, instituted at the troubled beginning of Gregory's pontificate, but who had nothing to do with the Roman police.

† The following passage, being shorter, may be quoted at length.

"The lower orders of Rome, as well as those of Ireland, have much to learn before even the doctrines of Christianity can be truly associated with the consequences of the religion they so wildly profess. In fact, a prayer before a Madonna, a declaration of repentance before a Crucifix, a sign of the cross, or absolution, effaces for ever from the memories of the lower orders of Italy, Spain, or Ireland, even the recollection of the crimes they have committed."—Vol. ii. p. 190.

‡ The arms of the Mastai-Ferretti are given wrong in the work before us, (p. 159.) They consist quarterly of two lions crowned, *standing* on an orb, and two *bends* gules on a ground azure. We copy these from an impression of the Pope's own seal, now before us.

a religious and devout nobleman, or a zealous and virtuous priest. We know the anecdote to be correct, that having been excluded by Prince Barberini from admission, after a trial, into the noble, or body, guard, in consequence of being subject to epilepsy, the young Count Mastai was encouraged by the saintly Pope Pius VII., to embrace the ecclesiastical state, with an assurance, that if he did so, his infirmity would cease. The result proved this to be a prophecy. But our biographers are singularly unfortunate as to dates. The Pope was born in May 1792. This attempt to enter the army, and its consequent change of vocation, are placed by them in his eighteenth year, (p. 162.) which would bring us to 1810. As usual we have the whole dialogue given us between the actual and the future Pope; but then Pius VII. had been carried into captivity on the 5th of July, 1809, where he remained for more than five years. If we go back before the French occupation of Rome some months previous, we carry this most important epoch in the Pope's life into his boyhood; but in fact it belongs to a later period, after the restoration, and to a maturer period of the Pope's life. This occurrence took place in 1816.

There can be no doubt that this event produced an important influence on the subsequent life and pursuits of the future Pontiff. He entered the Church under a call, that could not be considered by him other than a voice from heaven. It was not with a view to its dignities, or the public offices reserved to it, that he embraced this state; and consequently his studies, his thoughts, and occupations took only a religious, and thoroughly ecclesiastical, direction.

At that period there existed at Rome a body of learned, zealous and edifying secular priests, just in the prime of life, connected in great measure with the schools of the Collegio Romano, not as yet restored to the Jesuits. Many of these have since risen to high ecclesiastical honours, as nuncios, bishops, and even cardinals. Among them were young ecclesiastics of high birth, but devoted to the humblest offices of the ecclesiastical ministry. One of these was in character, in virtues, and in tastes, so akin to Count Mastai, that it is no wonder a lasting friendship should have been formed between them. This was Don Chiarissimo Falconieri, who was very soon named Archbishop of Ravenna, and afterwards Cardinal: a prelate



whose unbounded charity, humility of mind, and unaffected piety, preserve alive, in the episcopal office, the great models of ancient times.

As an illustration of this character we can give, with assurance of its truth, the following anecdote. One day a gentleman in decayed circumstances brought secretly to a silversmith, two silver candlesticks for sale. The tradesman observed that his manner was confused, and that the plate bore upon it the falcon, the *stemma gentilizio* of the Archbishop. Still the high character for integrity of the vender did not allow him to entertain the suspicion, naturally excited by the circumstances of the case; wherefore, requesting him to return later, when the value of the articles would have been ascertained, he went to the auditor of the Cardinal legate (our informant), and communicated the occurrence. This prelate, at once guessing, from previous experience, the truth of the matter, went directly to the good Archbishop, who modestly, and with entreaties of secrecy, acknowledged having given away this portion of his plate, having no money left to give. Similar incidents will be found in the biography of the present Pope, now before us; which, when stripped of their French dramatic dress, we believe to be correct. For we know instances of this same mode of acting since the Pope's accession. We have been told, by the agents of his charity, of most munificent and considerate acts of charity, on behalf of persons in altered circumstances. His Holiness, on ascertaining the reality of their distress, has sent large sums, in the most delicate manner, and through the hands of prelates in immediate attendance on his own person. On one occasion, last year, the Cardinal Secretary of Memorials (Altieri) presented the Pope, as usual, with a number of petitions for relief. After allotting something to each case, the Pope said, in his usual cheerful way, that now he had cleared out his purse, and had literally no money left in the world. In a few moments after his audience, the Cardinal returned. He was grieved to say that he had forgotten the most urgent case of all: from having, for greater security, placed the memorial relating to it apart from the rest. What was to be done? After a moment's consideration, the Pope directed the Cardinal to a drawer, in which was a beautiful gold piece of high value, struck as a specimen of a new coinage, intended, but never issued. "Take that," he said, "and I am glad it is gone, for I

fear I valued this too much ; now in truth I have nothing left to give."

These were the sort of men who came from the school to which we have alluded ; and if the Pontiff has chosen and found his present friends among those of his youth, he has at once discharged the duty of rewarding merit to none known better than to himself, and enjoyed the consolation of proving that connexions based on virtue are not destroyed in a mind like his, by change of relative positions. Not many months ago, as the late venerable Monsignor Gasperini was driving out near Santa Croce, he was not a little surprised to see his carriage door open, and the Pope, on foot, taking the opportunity of announcing to him that he had named Monsig. Palma his coadjutor in his canonicate. The former was the Rector of the Roman Seminary and College at the time of which we have been speaking, the other an able and most promising assistant to the professorship of ecclesiastical history, which he has since so honourably filled, and illustrated by his works. The Abbate Graziosi, who died last summer, and whose funeral was one of the most striking proofs ever witnessed, that the virtues of a simple priest devoted to his duties can gain the respect and love of an entire city, was another of that body ; as was the zealous preacher and missionary Ponzileoni, with many others whom we could enumerate. Among those ecclesiastics not only was learning cultivated by diligent study, but every work of zeal and charity had its promoters. The confessional and the pulpit, the hospitals and the prisons, missions in the country, and evening oratories in the city, were the scenes of their labours, as well as the public schools, and the *Accademia teologica*. Cardinal Falconieri used to devote himself to the spiritual and temporal assistance of the poor in the Ospizio di Santa Galla, a place of refuge for the houseless, who are there every night lodged, fed, and religiously instructed. The Canon Mastai undertook a work of charity still more important, and more arduous. He attached himself to, and we believe was superior of, the establishment known by the simple name of "Tatta Giovanni," in plain English *Daddy John*. The person thus called in affection, by those to whom he became truly a father, was one of those single-minded holy men who spring up in every age, in the Catholic Church. He opened a house for collecting together the very poorest

boys—a ragged school on a grand scale, and based on religious principles, where the children are supported by charity, and go out daily to work with tradespeople. It requires no small share of patience and kindness to train such wild plants as these; and yet there are persons now teaching in the public schools, and standing high among the clergy of Rome, who were the present Pope's little charity-boys, in this humble *hospitium*.\* Now it must be observed that the Abbate Mastai's dedication of himself to this work of charity was entirely voluntary; it was truly a work of love, which at once manifests his character, and could not fail still further to form it. The young man of family and sufficient wealth, who embraces the ecclesiastical career, and then, instead of seeking that position in the Church to which his social rank seems to invite him, by choice devotes himself to the care of the poorest, most abject, and perhaps most troublesome of all objects of charity, must have a heart not only uncorrupted by the world, but tender, affectionate, compassionate, and easy of mould, to adapt itself to the rude and wayward dispositions with which it has to live in contact. We may easily too, understand how much this youthful familiarity with the miseries of life, never so sensibly shown as in early destitution, must have influenced a character naturally sensitive, and have tended to form the peculiar attribute of the Pontiff, which none dares deny, which friend and foe alike admire, which strikes one in his manner, speech, looks and acts, which led to the first great deed of his pontificate, and has marked every subsequent one, which has made him loved to adoration by his subjects, and—we add it with shame—has encouraged the basely wicked objects of his clemency to be ungrateful,—his goodness of heart. In Italian one can express it better. *PIO NONO HA UN GRAN BEL CUORE!*

It will not surprise any Catholic reader to learn, that at the period of his life to which we refer, a holy man should have advised one now alive to attest it, to make Ab. Mastai's acquaintance, adding: "You may kiss his foot, for he will one day be Pope."

If we have lingered somewhat long upon this portion of

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\* For a full account of this beautiful institution we must refer our readers to Monsignor Morrichini's work upon it.

the Pontiff's biography, it has been with a consciousness that we were discharging a duty of gratitude. It was about this period that the College of S. Thomas of Canterbury in Rome was restored to the English Catholics, and they who first colonized it, fell immediately under the influence and direction of that body of secular clergy, with which the present Pope, then a simple priest, was so closely connected. These were their first professors, tutors, and directors, and continued so for several generations of students; nor have they yet entirely disappeared from the scene. Often has it seemed to us, that a latent germ of that school, transplanted, almost unconsciously, into England, has developed, and brought forth more fruit than we have been thankful for. Its growth was not rapid at first, but it was sure; and, like all that receives motion by attraction rather than by impulse, the gravitation of our ideas and feelings towards their natural centre, has increased in a ratio greater than that of time. Looking back to a distance of many years, each one will perceive events, and even incidents, which seemed of no moment when they occurred, but which are now found to have exercised an important—perhaps an essential—influence on all that has since happened to him. Even a passing gleam of thought may seem to us now like the star of our nativity. And the same may be said of the influences which determine the fate, or the course, of a community. In this way we do not think we can be wrong in asserting, that a glance at the past opens to us many points of contact between theological, moral and ecclesiastical developments in England, in the last quarter of a century, and the influence of those men and those principles that we have been endeavouring to describe. It can necessarily be only a few who have it in their power to trace this connexion of cause and effect; but they who can must feel how much is due to it, and how thankful they should be for its having been permitted.

To return, however. An important event in the Pope's life meets us at this point, and it is one which cannot have failed strongly to act upon his mind, and direct his thoughts in after life. Our English biographers give but a very brief account of it, and even that is not correct. The event to which we allude was, his taking part in the "mission," as it is called, of Monsignor Muzi, to Chili. This was not an enterprise of conversion, but an ecclesi-

astical commission, if one may use the expression, for the purpose of restoring things to their proper state, after the war which had separated South America from Spain. It was appointed upon the strong recommendations and entreaties of Don Jose Ignacio Cienfuegos, plenipotentiary from the republic of Chili to the Holy See. He had arrived in Rome on the 22nd of August, 1822, at the head of a numerous embassy; and Pope Pius VII., appointed a special congregation of Cardinals to take the request into consideration. It consisted of most illustrious characters: Cardinals Della Genga, (soon after Pope Leo XII.) Della Somaglia, Consalvi, Pacca, and De Gregorio. The result was the appointment, first of Abbate (now Cardinal) Ostini, and then of Mgr. Muzi, as Vicar Apostolic, Canonico Mastai as his companion, and the Ab. Sallustj as secretary. The party left Rome July 3rd, 1823, in company with the members of the Chilian legation. Traveling by slow stages, or rather by slow conveyance, through the centre of Italy, they reached Genoa only on the 17th, and there learnt the news of the Pope's fatal illness. They were most hospitably entertained by the Archbishop (now Cardinal) Lambruschini. How little could any guest at the table have read the future history of host and guest, have seen how each in his turn would sway the destinies of the papal dominions, and the one build up with great care, what the other would find it necessary to overturn. Perhaps to both, the days which they passed in peace and cheerfulness, discoursing of better things than the kingdoms of this world, may, at this distance of time, appear more charming, than the more stirring scenes in which now they move. By a series of almost ludicrous delays, the expedition, after embarking several times, was kept at Genoa till the 11th of October. In the mean time, Pius VII. had died, and had been succeeded by Leo XII. This excellent Pontiff instantly confirmed the power of the Vicar Apostolic. In a Brief addressed to the President of the Chilian Republic, dated October 3rd, he informs him that it was by his advice that Can. Mastai, most dear to him, had been appointed to that mission. "*Tibi etiam plurimum commendamus Dilectos Filios, Canonicum Joannem Mariam de Comitibus Mastai, et Josephum Sallustj, ambos presbyterali character insignitos; quorum primus Nobis apprime charus nostro potissimum consilio ad id muneris electus est.*"

The only incident of the voyage mentioned in the English biography is, that "the captain was washed away by a dreadful sea, which swept the decks, and was lost in his sight." (p. 168.) Happily this is not correct. It so happens that years before the Pope's election, a full narrative was published of this expedition, and we are only surprised that it has been so completely overlooked. The Abbate Sallustj, mentioned above as a member of the commission, published, in 1827, at Rome, a work entitled "*Storia delle Missioni apostoliche dello Stato del Chile*," in four octavo volumes. Of these nearly one and a half are devoted to the history of the missions, properly so called, among the Indians in Chili, under the Spaniards: (for, unfortunately, revolutionary changes do not seem particularly to favour apostolic enterprises:) the remainder of the work is occupied with the travels of the Apostolic Vicar and his suite.\* The minutest details are related with the good humoured garrulity of a new traveller, who, to habits of business, and practical acquaintance with graver matters, unites, as is common in the South, a dash of comic humour, and a keen sense of the ridiculous, and withal a charming simplicity and freshness of mind, which render the book amusing as well as instructive, in spite of its heavy quotations from that lightest of poets, Metastasio. Had the writer foreseen that one of the party would, in a few years, have occupied the sublimest dignity of the Church, he might have been tempted to suppress the many little incidents interspersed through his work, in which the future Pontiff appears subject to the wretched little ills of travelling humanity—bad inns, worse suppers, saucy landlords, disagreeable companions; and where the land journey is over Cordilleras and Pampas, and that sort of country, to many inconveniences of even a worse character, viz., no inns, and no supper, the danger of savage visitors, fatigue, fever, and a thousand strange adventures. But here we have them all recounted with a *bonhomme* that is always pleasing, and at times diverting. Then when one who, in the familiarity of companionship, is simply called *Mastai*, is represented to us as the victim of these casualties, we own that it is a pleasure to us to

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\* The author promises a fifth volume, containing a narrative of the operations of the Commission. If published, it has never come before us; though it would be the most interesting of all.



see lurking under the disguise of that name, one far more glorious, but not destructive of individuality: and to imagine the person whom the Catholic world loves and reverences, and whom all the world admires and respects, once unconscious of coming honours as any poor missionary, sojourning in mud hovels, and feasting on very meagre fare. Perhaps a few extracts may amuse the reader, while they certainly will not lead to any disrespectful thoughts. The following is an account of a night at the post of Las Hermanas in South America:

"The post consisted of only four huts, built according to the fashion of those half-savages, of bones of animals and mud, and covered only with straw.....Monsignor (Muzi) Mastai and I slept in a hovel, without any door, and with a straw thatch which seemed intended for an observatory, so that the entire course of the planets might be observed from one's bed. The walls also, by their numerous cracks opened a sort of lateral look out, especially towards the North, where a crevice nearly a foot wide gave a beautiful view of the tail of *Ursa major*. However, this smiling cottage, so very agreeable from its scientific construction, and from its venerable antiquity, had the misfortune to be full of rubbish, and of hardened mud, heaped up here and there, and all over, and served the post-master as a slaughter-house, and store for his meat and other viands, whether for his own consumption, or for that of his ill-starred visitors. There were also boards hung from the rafters by ropes, on which were laid quantities of meat several days old, suet fresh and seasoned, cheese, and skins, small and large, placed to dry. Any one may imagine how savoury were their exhalations. If the room had been constructed with fewer apertures than it possessed, we should certainly have all of us expired that night, from want of respirable air in that mephitic atmosphere. However, fatigue and want of rest, which soften any bed, and prepare the best chamber, brought us most placid sleep; and I, though stretched with my thin mattress on pieces of timber and hardened clods, heaped up close to the door, had the good fortune to sleep nearly the whole night, through which the wind disturbed me more than the close air."—Vol. ii. p. 95

A more lamentable account of a night spent in a ruined hovel occurs a little further in the same work, in which "Canonico Mastai" was the principal sufferer.\* The readers of Mr. Waterton's adventures will have there found a vivid description of one of its molestations, but not by any means of all. We must, however, find room for another very different adventure. On their return the

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\* Page 165.

vessel touched at Montevideo, and on landing, the party were met by a large crowd. "But," writes their historian, "not all received us in the same manner; for, as we were landing, and I was on the left hand of the Vicar Apostolic, a young man, tall and stout, dressed as a countryman, came upon me, with his arm uplifted, as if to drive me back by fisticuffs." (Surely he was a Northern of some kind.) "I having cleverly eluded his blow, he ran to attack Signor Canonico Mastai; but shouted at by many, and pushed back by a soldier, he ceased to molest us."\*

But whatever may be the misfortunes which beset the ways of the *homo viator* upon firm land, they are nothing compared with the perils and annoyances of the deep, especially to an unlucky landsman. Hence we always receive with more than one grain of salt such a one's account of storms, and waves mountain-high, and imminent shipwrecks, well knowing how different an old tar's account of the same scenes would be. But with all due discount on the Abbate Sallusti's account, and with all allowance made for his poetical genius, which seems to run riot in describing the horrors of the "vasty deep," there can be no doubt that the voyage to America, narrated in these volumes, was stormy and perilous beyond the average. Scarcely had the vessel quitted Genoa, when the equinoctial gales seem to have attacked it in all their fury, and raised a tempest which lasted for several days. Of all the sufferers among those fresh sailors, "Mastai" appears always as the most severely afflicted; so that twice, when his companions were driven by their fears from their berths, and casting themselves on their knees before a representation of our Blessed Lady, there vowed to offer up the adorable sacrifice in thanksgiving, if freed from that danger, he was totally unable to leave his bed; † and when at last all seemed lost, and he was compelled to creep forth, he was reduced to such a state of weakness as only to be able to remain on the floor, where he was violently dashed from one side to the other of the cabin. ‡ We perhaps should not have troubled our readers with these details, although there is an interest in picking up early anecdotes of illustrious persons, referring to their history before they were great, were they not connected

\* Vol. iv, p. 144.

† Vol. i. pp. 117—120.

‡ Page 121.

with an incident somewhat more remarkable in the life of our Pontiff.

These storms drove the captain of the vessel to seek shelter in the port of Palma, the capital of Majorca. Now Spain had not yet recognized the rights of the South American republics to the nomination of bishops, and looked with jealousy on every direct intercourse between them and the Holy See. The vessel was first treated as if suspected of plague; then all its papers were demanded, including those of the Mission, and at length the Vicar Apostolic was ordered to go ashore. He demurred; threats were held out that the rudder would be unshipped, and if that did not suffice, the brig scuttled, to enforce obedience. The bishop of course yielded, and with "Mastai" alone, embarked in a small boat, and was rowed through the yet agitated waters of the gulf. On landing, the two were arrested, and shut up in the prison of the lazaretto. It is fortunate for us that in our annalist love was stronger than fear, otherwise we should have had no record of the strange scenes which followed. Thus he writes: "Upon hearing this dismal news, I instantly got into the same boat, and having traversed the gulf, with equal danger, went to join them in the same prison."\* Next morning, he tells us, they were roused by the ringing of a huge bunch of keys, and the creaking of rusty bolts, and brought forth to be examined. But the author must describe the tribunal which summoned before it the future Pope. "The grand Sanhedrim, or new prætorium of Pilate, was set up at the very gates of the Lazaretto, and in it sat, with shaggy hair on end, and beetling brow, the alcalde of the city. He, as acting magistrate, presided at the assize, and he, with an imposing and majestic air, worthy of Pilate himself, put the questions. He had at his side two more austere ministers, who struck terror by their fierce aspect, and their terrific looks; and a consumptive, cadaverous notary, who, with the air of a pharisee, noted down the questions and answers. When all had taken their posts, they placed in the midst of that synagogue of malignants a small wooden stool, on which they placed, first the bishop, then each of us, by himself to be examined."† Affairs took a rather serious turn. The

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\* Page 129.

† Page 130.

"governor of the island,"—not Barataria—seemed determined to maintain what he had begun, in spite of the mediation of the bishop Gonzales-Vallejo, who showed real zeal, good sense, and kindness throughout the matter, and of the energetic remonstrances of the consular authorities. For a certain number of the council wished to send off the papal commissioners at once to Ceuta, and so make short work of it. At length, after four days' severe imprisonment, they were allowed to re-embark. The concluding words of the narrative have something almost of augury in them. "I cut short, in a moment, a letter which I was inditing to Mgr. Lambruschini, archbishop of Genoa, and giving it to the Sardinian consul half written, together with the despatch for the court of Rome, I thanked the Lord, with sincere heart, for having been pleased to draw us out from prison, even as he did His first Vicar, and Prince of the Apostles, St. Peter; I took up my little bundle, and cheerfully following the bishop and Mastai, went with them out of prison." \*

We wonder whether any of the actors in this singular occurrence yet remain, to remember how they treated their future spiritual chief. If so, they must have, we should think, some feelings of compunction, for not having given him a more hospitable reception, due to every one in distress, still more to persons bearing such a character as the papal commissioners. But we are sure that if they ever had occasion to entreat pardon for their error, a pleasant smile, if not a hearty laugh, and certainly a more hearty blessing, would be their reply.

But to return: the entire voyage was tempestuous; and it was off Cape Horn that the storm, alluded to in the joint biography before us, took place. The vessel was severely shaken; "the Canonico Mastai," writes our Italian chronicler, "while we were all sitting round the cabin, saying the rosary, was dashed, by a sudden stroke of a sea, completely from one side of the ship to the other, and we considered it a special mercy that he did not strike against Father Arce, who was opposite to him." But this was nothing. While at table they were alarmed by a cry of—"Quick! launch the jolly-boat!" Our historian ran on deck, saw the helm hard up, the sails dropped, and the

vessel standing still. At the stern he thought he perceived the points of rocks protruding from the water. These turned out to be a dog-kennel, a hen-coop, and other articles thrown out to a poor sailor, who, while taking soundings had fallen off the bows, and was already left far behind. Then followed a scene of inexpressible confusion, each one in the cabin mistaking the cause of the alarm, except one; for while one thought they were on shore, and others that they were attacked by corsairs, "the Canonico Mastai, seeing from the cabin window the poor wretch carried away by the current, cried aloud: *Dio mio! Dio mio!* whereupon Senor Cienfuegos," (who was thinking of an onslaught of pirates,) "understood him to say: *tio mio! tio mio!* that is, (in Spanish,) *my uncle!* and fancied that the corsairs had wounded some relation of his among the crew." It would have been too bad if such a ludicrous scene had ended seriously. Three sailors boldly dashed into the tempestuous waves in a small boat, rowed back three miles, and found the poor fellow, after he had been an hour in the water, and had contrived to strip himself, just sinking. They brought him alive, but much exhausted, on board.\* Having ourselves a vivid recollection of a scene most similar in all but its happy termination, we easily sympathize in the vivid description of the Italian narrator.

We cannot, for a moment, doubt that these passages in the life of the Sovereign Pontiff, this exposure to the petty, but real miseries of ordinary men's lives, so different from the monotonous, quiet, *respectable* mode of living which forms the ordinary lot of persons destined for high ecclesiastical offices, or raised to them from the cloister, has had its influence in the formation of his after character. The being buffeted by elemental storms, in the very straightforward, natural way described by Sallustj, in a small sailing vessel, the short commons of which form one of the most comical topics of the historian, the passing through the hardships of an American expedition, obliged to shift for himself in most undignified modes, must have prepared him to "rough it" also in a moral sense, and have freed him from those conventional feelings, and those artificial wants, which few near a throne, whatever it be, without

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\* Page 227.

acquiring. Etiquette, formalities, the trammels of state, the pride of rank, and the small pretensions of acquired dignity, had no opportunity of cramping, still less of moulding, the character, at that period of life at which it receives its principal conformation. We doubt if, in all the pontifical annals, another Pope occurs, who, before his elevation had twice crossed the line, and had gone through the ceremony of paying homage to the tarry Neptune, who on such occasions claims it. But Providence, we are sure, made use of these unusual occurrences in the life of its pre-chosen instrument, as a preparative for the peculiar circumstances of the present pontificate, and of those qualities which were necessary in him who had to wield its sceptre. This view is taken, and beautifully expressed by the able Balmes, in the pamphlet before us. After giving a sketch of the voyage to America, he thus proceeds:

“There is certainly in nature’s grand scenes, an influence which expands and nerves the soul; and when these are united to the contemplation of different races, varied in civilization and manners, the mind acquires a largeness of sentiment most favourable to the development of the understanding and the heart, widening the sphere of thought, and ennobling the affections. On this account it is pleasing above all things, to see the youthful missionary, destined to occupy the Chair of St. Peter, traverse the vast ocean, admire the magnificent rivers and superb chains of mountains of America; travel through those forests and plains where a rich and fertile soil, left to itself, displays with ostentatious luxury its inborn treasures, by the abundance, variety, and beauty of its productions, animate and inanimate; run risks among savages, sleep in wretched hovels, or on the open plain, and pass the night beneath that brilliant canopy which astonishes the traveller in the southern hemisphere. Providence, which destined the young Mastai Ferretti to reign over a people, and to govern the universal Church, led him by the hand, to visit various nations, and to contemplate the marvels of nature.”—p. xi.

Of the occupations of Canonico Mastai in Chili, we know little; as an ecclesiastical mission the expedition proved a failure. There was jealousy and bad faith on the part of the Chilian government, and want of tact, and bad management, we fear, on the part of the head of the mission, now no more. But this we know, that the subject of our present memoir gained for himself the esteem, friendship, and warm affections of many, if not all. His election to the supreme pontificate was hailed in South



America with raptures of joy, as though a native had been chosen; and the cathedral Chapter of Santiago, to whom the Pope sent a present of a rich chalice, in their letter of thanks requested, as a further token, His Holiness's bust, to replace in the chapter-house, in remembrance of his former residence among them. This has just passed through this country on its way to America.

The voyage to Europe was a complete contrast to the one to America. The ocean seemed to make amends for its former rudeness; or the evil spirits opposed no obstacles to the retreat of a mission, which had done, in spite of enmities and cold discouragements, no small amount of local good. After ten months' residence in Chili, the archbishop and his companions embarked at Valparaiso, on the 30th of October, 1824; on the 4th of December, landed at Montevideo; re-embarked on the 18th of February, 1825, after confirming, ordaining, and performing other important functions: went on shore at Gibraltar on the 6th of May, set sail again on the 25th, and on the 5th of June landed in safety at Genoa. From the coast of America to Gibraltar, the prelate and his two companions were able daily to celebrate the Divine Mysteries, and strange to say, the functions of Holy Week, or at least the beautiful service of Good Friday, and the entire Holy Saturday office, including the ringing of the previously tongue-tied bells, were performed on board the ship.\*

"But," continues our historian, after having related various misfortunes, "what terrified us more than all, was the sudden illness of Canonico Mastai. During Holy Week he began to feel slightly indisposed, but paid little attention to it. After some time an acrid eruption came out in his neck.....It attacked his face, and brought on a species of apoplectic stroke, which distorted the mouth, and deprived it of all sensibility. He remained several

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\* To relish the following passage one must know the Italian character well: "Si celebrava giornalmente da tutti il Santo Sacrificio della Messa; e nella Settimana santa, potemmo anche fare lo scoprimento, e l'adorazione della Croce, e sciogliere le campane, colla previa funzione del Sabato Santo. Quindi per compimento della festa fu ucciso un pingue majale, e coi piatti che ce ne preparava il nostro cuoco, unitamenti ad altri cibi, e ai generosi vini Europei, passammo quei santi giorni di Resurrezione nell'allegria del Signore."—p. 201.

days in this miserable state, which we all feared might end fatally ; but, by the divine mercy, after many days of such poor care as could be given him on board a vessel on the wide ocean, we had the desired consolation of seeing him perfectly restored."—p. 203.

After his return to Rome, Monsignor Mastai Ferretti (created a prelate by Pope Leo XII.) resumed his career of ecclesiastical and charitable duties, until that holy Pontiff, who, as we have seen, had highly esteemed him before his departure for America, named him Archbishop of Spoleto, his own native city. This was on the 21st of May, 1827. He continued in this see till Gregory XIII. named him to that of Imola, Dec. 17th, 1832.

Both these positions must have materially influenced his views and his future measures. Of these bishopricks the first stood on the borders between the discontented provinces of the papal dominions, and what might be called the more loyal portion of the states. It was on the line from Spoleto to Rieti, that the insurgents of 1831 exhausted their force ; it seemed as though the waves there met too high a coast, which turned them back, or as if an invisible boundary line marked the sacred territory which girded the holy City. At that time, two bishops, bearing the same name, near relations and dear friends, ruled spiritually over those two cities. It was owing to their personal efforts that the tide of insurrectionary war rolled back from their gates. But the difference of the two characters is strongly evidenced by the difference of their modes of proceedings. Cardinal Gabriele Ferretti—he who afterwards was nuncio at Naples while the cholera there raged, who, the whole day, visited the poorest sick, and attended them spiritually, and when he found one without sufficient bed-clothes, flung on the pallet and left there his gold-trimmed purple cloak ;—he who electrified the immense congregation assembled at prayers and benediction in Sta Chiara, to avert the plague, by offering himself, in an outburst of charity and devotion, as a victim to Divine justice, that the city might be spared : he who lately took the helm of the state when all seemed troubled and menacing, was received in triumph when he presented himself at the gates of Rome, and joined a procession on foot, when it was said (to alarm the people) that there was a mine laid to blow it into the air—this Monsignor, now Cardinal Ferretti, was bishop of Rieti : a man whose heart is as the flint

where it has to meet danger, and is as tender as a woman's where charity is concerned. Against his city of Rieti came the armed force of the insurgents, several thousands strong. The courageous bishop armed the citizens, disposed them to the best advantage, gave the wisest directions, encouraged them to vigorous defence, and then took his post at the foot of the altar, praying, during the engagement, to the God of battles, but consulted, when need was, by those who presided over more active measures of war. The result proved successful, the day was won: and the Bishop of Rieti was the hero of Italy. It was not long after the occurrence, that being his guest, we walked together over the scene of his victory: but we received our invitation from him at Spoleto.\*

Towards the gates of this city two thousand insurgents marched, we believe, after that discomfiture. They breathed fury and vengeance, threatened to set fire to the town, and to murder the clergy. The bishop was, as our readers have been informed, Mastai Ferretti. He was advised to fly, as particularly obnoxious to the rebels, who were in fact under no control, and were little better than a horde of banditti. But not only did he refuse, hireling-like, to abandon his flock because the wolf was coming, but he replied that no doubt the poor creatures who were advancing, were in distress and needed relief. He accordingly went forth to meet them, told them who he was, and spoke to them kindly. They laid down their arms; he assisted them with food and money, and they returned home.

The second bishopric held by the Pope was in the very heart of Romagna, in the centre of discontent and disaffection. Whatever real cause there might be for these feelings he certainly had the best opportunity of seeing and knowing. As the early part of his career served to make him acquainted with sorrow and wretchedness under two of its forms, poverty and sin—as he there learnt the amount of domestic misery, and of moral corruption which lurks in every state, however crusted over with seeming prosperity, so did his position during the years immediately pre-

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\* Cardinal Ferretti belonged in youth to the same school as the present Pope. Educated at the same time in the Roman College, he dedicated a thesis in theology to Pope Pius VII. who personally attended it. He afterwards particularly devoted himself to preaching of retreats and missions to the poor, till he was named Bishop of Rieti.

ceding his pontificate, tend, while adding to his former knowledge, to bring him more immediately into contact with public abuses, with political disturbance, with the restlessness of men's minds, and the disturbance of their social convictions, which made the whole of the preceding pontificate a perpetual wrestling and struggling between suppressed feelings of discontent, and secret plans of revolution on the one hand, and an irritated government on the other. Wherever a system of conspiracy is being carried on, wherever through the agency of secret societies, not rampant and open-mouthed clubs, like those of Paris or of present Rome, but dark, hidden mysterious fraternities, like the secret tribunals of the middle ages, there is a constant upheaving effort to overthrow a government, it seems almost natural for that government to have recourse to secret and disguised instruments, for discovering and counteracting the evil. Happy that ruler who has the courage, like the present Pope, to drag the lurking mischief into daylight, and have to deal with it above ground: for after all, though more frightful, a volcano is better than an earthquake. But it is difficult, when the struggle has once begun, to change its character; it is not even often in the power of one party to do it, nor can it be well done by mutual compact. Mines and countermines are going on together; those who are every moment going to spring the first, and so overthrow, as they hope, the walls of the city, are not likely to desist on any assurance of the other side, that they will cease operations; and it cannot easily be expected that the beleaguered will diminish their exertions, in hope that the enemy will give up his underground operations. It is hard, nay it is unjust, to cast censure upon the late papal government, supposing it possessed of the instinct of self-preservation, for the system into which it was driven. The lowest kind of justice that could be done to it, would be to divide the blame. Never was an opportunity given to it to try the course of generous concession or open confidence. A rebellion had broken out before the Pope had been elected; it bespoke a war, not against the individual, or measures, but at once against the principle of pontifical dominion. The news of the revolt reached Rome on the day of the Pope's coronation. It was in concert with a rising at Modena, and in Lombardy. There was no remonstrance, no petition sent in to the new Sovereign; there was no pause made, no truce

offered, for the consideration of grievances; but while the government of Gregory XVI. was scarcely formed, still less known, the war was pushed almost to the gates of Rome, and a party in that city itself rose in concert with its promoters, endeavoured to disarm the guard, kept the capital in a state of alarm, and filled the quiet and the religious part of the population with disgust and abhorrence. Yet in every account that we read of the policy of the late pontificate, no heed is given to these circumstances; it is forgotten that the predecessor of Pius IX. commenced his reign over a kingdom, one half of which was in arms, and the other half overrun and undermined by the agents of secret societies, or even by the active operation of those guilds of iniquity. Was there one generous act, one trustful advance, one declaration of honest principle on their side to inspire or encourage liberal dealings with them, or a confidence in the uprightness, or real patriotism of their views? Nay, we will go further and ask, was there one man leading, or connected with, the revolutionary movement of 1831, whose name gave the slightest guarantee, that the rights of religion would be respected, or its very essentials thought worth preserving? It may be different with the same men now. But that is nothing to us: we speak unhesitatingly of a former period.

But, notwithstanding all this, Gregory XVI. did put forth appeals to his rebellious subjects, as gentle, as affectionate, as forgiving, and as encouraging, as it was possible to write. They proceeded from his own pen—he would not trust another heart to speak his feelings; for he was a paternal and a tender-hearted prince. He offered to correct abuses, he listened willingly to the suggestions of other powers; he did, in fact, introduce many reforms, and took the first steps towards introducing a system of representative government in the provinces. But, in the meantime, how was he treated? His peaceful remonstrances and fatherly invitations were disregarded, and he had no alternative but war. Austria gave assistance, and the revolt came to a close. The leading actors *fled*, and formed the great body of refugees, whom the amnesty of Pius has restored to their families; and the system of covert warfare, by means of secret societies, of periodical plots and unceasing disquietudes, continued. On the other side, distrust and eternal misgivings prevailed; and that evil, from which Great Britain alone is exempt, was

perpetuated—the existence and agency of a political police. In England, indeed, we understand by the name police, the protectors of life and property; on the continent, in constitutional and semi-constitutional, quite as much as in despotic, governments, the functions of this department relate much more to the safety of the state. Its secret services are far the most important, and the best required. Unfortunately, they are not most congenial to honourable and open-hearted men; and too often they fall into the hands of low-minded, or desperate, or selfish individuals, whom it is a misery and a curse to have connected with any government.

But it may be said, why did not the late Pope at once act in a decided, generous manner, reject Austrian interference, throw himself on the better feelings of his subjects, proclaim an amnesty for the past, and liberal measures for the future? We might say much on this topic; but we feel that the keen knife of experience cuts here at once through the Gordian knot of any tangled reasoning. The very men who met Gregory's offers of pardon and concession at the point of the sword, after fifteen years of sobering age and subduing exile, were recalled to their homes by the spontaneous clemency of Pius; and after having blessed his name aloud till it became a name of benediction throughout Europe, after having declared themselves unable in their eloquent tongue to find words that could describe his goodness or express their gratitude, after having solemnly each one "promised, on his word of honour, not to abuse in any manner, or at any time, that act of sovereign clemency, and engaged himself to fulfil all the duties of a good and loyal subject;"\* after having received marks of honour and affection from him, after having seen him ready to grant every reasonable desire, and to lead the way in all feasible improvements,—these very men have proved themselves disloyal even to *him*—faithless, treacherous; have violated their engagements, have tried to strip him of his well-earned popularity, have striven to circumscribe and clip that power, the first manifestation of which was benevolence to themselves; have forced his consent to rash experiments, have striven to compel him, by clamour, to drive him into war, and have

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\* Liancourt, vol. i. p. 249.



almost proceeded to coerce his sacred person. If we have been so far misled by an over-favourable estimate of human nature, as to have believed it impossible for men so treated to have acted as they have done, and thus to have regretted that the experiment of pardon was not earlier tried, we must now acknowledge in humiliation that there may have been a deeper insight into human nature, or a sharper look into possible futurity than we possessed, which enabled others to discern what lurked in depths of ingratitude, far beyond our ken. If Gregory XVI. believed that probable which we now find to be actual, we can hardly be surprised that he did not begin his reign with an amnesty.

But to return: whoever was the author, or whatever was the cause, it is clear that such a state of conflict between the Government and the people, such a war of principles as endured for years, could not fail to bring with it much true suffering, much real misery. Many noble families mourned for exiles, victims generally of their own imprudence; and the state of irritation and bad humour, which systematic opposition to the ruling powers engendered, cramped all industry and energy, and split towns and even families into parties or almost factions. All this was galling, grieving, ruinous to happiness. And in this form it must have presented itself to the mind and heart of the bishop of Imola, living as he did in contact with it. To him it must have been afflicting to witness so much public calamity, and so much consequent domestic wretchedness. He was no politician; he was no theorist; but he was a lover of his kind, of his flock, of his children, and he could not fail to sympathize with their woes. Never for a moment was he suspected of going along with the liberal party, or of being a "reformer." Gregory XVI. esteemed him as highly as his predecessors had done, and created him a Cardinal, but reserved him *in petto*, in the year 1839, and named him in the course of the following year. The unanimity with which he was elected Pope is proof how little he was considered a party man.\*

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\* The account given, in the English biography, of the Pope's kindness to the nuns of Angers is, we believe, correct. We have heard, on good authority, an interesting anecdote of the Pope, while Bishop of Imola. An atrocious sacrilege was committed by the

We hold this to be a most material point in examining the Pontiff's conduct since his accession. There could not be a more incorrect view of his character and acts than that which has been popularly taken; that which represents him as a man taking possession of the pontifical chair with what are called "liberal views," and with constitutional theories ready in his head. His whole life had been a thoroughly ecclesiastical, and for many years, an episcopal one. He had not anticipated the papal dignity, and he had no time to "cram" for it. He assumed his post with the preparation which an upright mind, a matured judgment, a delicate conscience, sincere piety, and a most thoroughly excellent heart can give a man. He came to it determined (we speak of him as a civil ruler) to remove all causes of suffering to his people, and to remedy every abuse, for the knowing and feeling of which his previous career had so eminently fitted him. We believe that his own heart said to him in that hour what the Prefect Probus said to St. Ambrose, yet a layman, when he named him a civil magistrate: "*Vade, age, non ut iudex, sed ut episcopus.*"

The time is, we suppose, pretty well past when a constitution was a Procrustian bed on which every nation must be fitted. A few years ago every consular agent went abroad with a plan of government in his pocket, to thrust on the suckling republic, which he was sent to rock. Fit, or no fit, it was the christening present of England, and it must go on. It might give a fatal chill, or a mortal cramp, or kicking convulsions; it was of no avail; on it must be kept. The tyrant presidents, and the cut-throat liberators of South America, the civil wars and cruel disorders of that emancipated continent, Greece, and its worse than Turkish demoralization and anarchy, and a generation of mankind fast passing away amidst spoliations, civil wars, and disorganization of commerce, society, and government in both the kingdoms of the Peninsula, have by this

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robbery of a tabernacle. The Bishop mounted the pulpit, and, after a feeling discourse on the crime, declared that he would not sleep in his episcopal residence till it had been expiated, and the Lord of Glory had been restored to His House. He proceeded to a hired lodging, where he lived, till the robber, struck with compunction, came to him, and entreated forgiveness, and revealed the place where the S. Hosts were to be found.

time disenchanted us of our love of theoretical government, imposed without the slightest regard to the principles of adaptation. Hence Sir Harry Smith did *not* give the Caffres, this time, two chambers, a responsible ministry, and trial by jury. And we have actually left the Celestial Empire without the terrene advantages of a liberal income-tax and a national debt. The theory now so much the fashion, that every form of government is essentially unjust which does not give the people the power to make its own laws, and to tax itself, is a libel, to say the least, upon nearly six thousand years of man's cycle of existence, during which time neither the instincts of the savage state, nor the glimmerings of barbarism, nor the blaze of civilization, has led to the adoption of any one definite form. The scale has varied, to every imaginable degree, from the wildest democracy to the most stringent despotism. And yet men seem to have been happy, and certainly they have been prosperous, which is quite a different thing, under every possible form. That Pius IX. contemplated the granting of a constitutional government when he ascended the papal throne, few will imagine. He began at once by that noble amnesty, which gave evidence of his great principle—the determination to diminish, and if possible to remove, suffering. He then proceeded to reform abuses; and we have no doubt that he had made up his mind to the necessity of introducing great organic changes in the administration both of justice and of finance. For instance, it cannot have escaped him, that in consequence of the practice of the States, of employing persons supposed to be ecclesiastics, in offices regarding merely secular affairs, a double evil ensued; the younger branches of noble families were driven either to fester in idleness, discontent, and vice, in a stagnant society which they only helped to corrupt, or to assume the ecclesiastical habit without receiving orders, and often disgracing it by their lives. There was no useful career of honest ambition open to them; and it is probable that the Pope, who must have long seen this evil, may have intended to remove it, by secularizing some of the great offices of state. Generous measures he no doubt intended, but *liberal* ones we do not believe he contemplated; nor can we think that any one, at that time, could have done so. A good ruler is like a skilful physician; while he administers remedies for active disorder, he watches the direction which nature

takes in the healing process, and endeavours to second, not to force her. If the strength grows more rapidly than the previous depression warranted him to expect, he will give more rapidly a more nutritious diet; but Hippocrates himself could not plan beforehand what course he would day by day pursue. Now, in like manner, suppose the state to have been disjointed, deranged, and in complete disorder, at the Pope's accession; he must have started with the determination of setting all to rights, and many reforms and changes, necessary for that purpose, no doubt received acceptance in his mind; but it must have been out of his own power even to calculate the growing cravings, and perhaps the increasing fitness for what are called liberal institutions, which the first reforms and improvements might produce. It was impossible to say by anticipation, this concession shall be made, but one that goes beyond shall not. Conscience and duty being secure, and the exigencies being reasonable, it is hard to draw a line whereat to stop.

Let us suppose that no disturbing causes had arisen from without. The Pope's course of improvement would have been gradual: each other state of Italy would have moved with him *pari passu*, in the work of reform. One great measure which he contemplated for the general good, was the union of Italian states in a common league, for peaceful purposes,—a commercial, a postal, and a financial union,—which, aided by railways, the great pacifiers of our days, would have mutually benefited all the states. But in this plan there was no idea of Mazzini's Italianism, nor of Gioberti's Primacy. Austria in Lombardy would have been considered as a legitimate Italian power, and the smaller principalities would have received full recognition of their rights, nay, would have possessed additional guarantees for them. There would have been agitation, no doubt, from more ardent spirits; from the liberals, who in exile had been watching the wheel-work of other states, and thought that it was like iron machinery, that could be set up everywhere. But the naturally sensible and staid character of the Italian people, especially the Romans, and the smallness of their ardour for a liberty which they cannot understand, would have afforded at once a secure subsoil for loyalty and conservatism to keep their roots in, and a soft bed which would have effectually deadened the assault of reckless liberalism. If all the

great powers of Italy had pulled harmoniously together, they would have weathered the storm.

Unfortunately two events took place which baffled every calculation. The most keen-eyed statesman could no more have foreseen, and prepared against the French revolution, than, as Napoleon observed, the most consummate general could have calculated on the burning of Moscow by the Russians. Just when the dynasty of Louis Philippe seemed the most securely seated on its throne, it was overthrown, and a new republic rose in Europe. The effect of such a blow on Italy is well known; it aroused dormant passions, inflamed slumbering hopes, and threw into the scales on one side, the weight of a mighty nation. Hence the revolt of Lombardy; hence the Italian war. The other event which threw all out of its equilibrium, and sent the car, of which the steeds could scarcely be reined in, dashing madly down the hill, was the sudden concession, made apparently half in mockery, half in spite, by the king of Naples, of a complete constitution to the people, perhaps of all others the least fitted for it. The *arrière pensée* with which this was done has since appeared. But its immediate effect was to precipitate measures most detrimentally throughout Italy, and instead of allowing changes to be gradual, and letting free institutions be the ripe fruit of time and consolidated growth, it forced on an artificial, premature, and unwholesome growth, which makes every step now taken to be merely experimental, and unsupported by a previously well-laid basis.

There have been two charges made against the conduct of the present Pope, in his temporal government, (for we are looking at this alone,) which are in a manner contradictory. The one which his most violent enemies in this country urge is, that he has all along been driven by a lurking ambition to become the head political of Italy. The other has been more kindly advanced, that he has been weak in making concessions beyond what he had ever intended, or even thought of. The more recent events of Italy have amply confuted both these charges. Had the Pope chosen to put himself at the head of the Italian party, and urged on public opinion towards federalism, under the cry of "Italy for the Italians," he might, at this moment have been, not merely as popular as ever with his own subjects, but the recognized chief of the Italian confederation; nor is it improbable that considerable accessions

would have been made to his territories. But faithful to what he deemed, and we think most justly, a more sacred duty, he refused to declare a war which became him not; he withstood the strongest appeals, and the most ominous intimations, and remained neuter. Ambition is the last imputation which can now be cast upon his character, even if the accusation were not refuted by the entire tenor of his life.\*

It appears to us singular, that at the moment we are writing on this subject, news should have reached us that General Durando and his Roman troops have been compelled to surrender, and re-cross the Po, on condition of not bearing arms for three months against Austria. This general declared that the Pope had sanctioned their campaign, and was openly contradicted. There could be no blessing upon his unblessed banner, and he and his followers have been singled out for defeat. They can no longer act in opposition to their prince's wishes.

But to return: it is clear that the Pope, by his unambitious firmness, has preserved himself in his proper and dignified place. If not merely rumours, but appearances be true, he is able to mediate, and will most probably be the arbitrator, to adjust claims between Italy and Germany. Had he become a party to the war he never could have taken this position.

As to the charge of weakness, what we have said will suffice for it. Had we space left, we would lay before our readers a detailed account of the events which succeeded the celebrated Allocution of April 29th. We doubt whether sufficient time has elapsed before stirring up the half-quenched embers of that fiery hour. But we have before us the true statement of what occurred in those days, almost hour by hour; and we feel sure, that were the proceedings known, as they then took place, and were the strong and energetic language which he used in its proper place proclaimed, there would, on the one hand, be excited strong indignation, in at least every Catholic breast, against those who have so unworthily treated the kindest

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\* We have no wish to judge in the great question of the war, nor concerning the conduct of the King of Sardinia. Those who wish to see these matters fully and ably discussed, must read Mr. Bowyer's defence in the pamphlet second on our list.



and most clement of sovereigns, and, on the other, admiration raised of his most becoming, dignified, and determined mode of dealing with such men.

On the present uncertain position of things in Rome we cannot pronounce a judgment. We have already said, that it is an experimental state. All is now in the crucible; and whether gold or lead (we hope not steel) will come out, defies the foresight of any seer. "Double, double, toil, and trouble," are certainly in the caldron; and we have no great confidence in the wizards who are stirring up the decoction. Somehow or other we do place much in the Roman people. Though they have of late taken to strange fashions, and appear abroad bearded like pards, we do hope that the good taste and good sense of which they have often given proof, will again triumph over the fitful and baneful influence of a few hotheaded leaders. Already the Trasteverini have proclaimed as their motto, "*Religione e libertà; Libertà con religione.*" This, we trust, will ere long be the watchword round which all Rome and all the Pontifical States will rally. If this be the case, we have no doubt but that the Pope will soon see the end of his anxieties and troubles, and find himself at the head of a contented and united people.

One thing more we do most sincerely hope,—that the Romans will forget all nonsense about Romulus and Remus, and all the Brutuses; and give up the she-wolf, with all the sickly classicalities of Arcadia, and the puerilities of academical mythology. They have got to learn (many of them at least) that they have little more to do with pagan Rome than have the Tartars. The "Rome of the Popes" is their birth-place, and the heroes of the Church are their best forefathers. To think that they can, with impunity, throw away eighteen centuries of christian glory, to build the honour of the present age upon the stale reputation of the heathen warriors and poets of ancient Rome, would be as absurd as if they really should think of erecting the hall of meeting for their new parliament on the broken columns and shaky walls of the Coliseum. Pagan Rome is no longer theirs; it belongs to the schoolboys—to those who get impositions for not remembering who Mummius was, or how many divisions there were in an *As*. The heads of Roman youth are apt to get crammed with the foolish idea, that they are something to the Fabii and the Horatii, and that they have some call or other to rein-

state or continue their glory. The arts and the literature of Rome have been allowed too freely to take this vain and aimless direction. Stupid and indecent mythologies entice its artists, while Overbeck's—the German's—paintings sweetly smile holy reproaches on their wasted talents. Every old nook and hole, in which an ancient bat may have esconced itself, is heedfully explored; while, beneath ground is a sacred city, almost abandoned to the interest of strangers, or to the unaided zeal of a Marchi; and every hill is crowned with religious monuments, that shame by their durability the ruined temples of heathenism. It is not on the Capitol, with its sacred birds, (be they not ominous!) that the inspirations of the new chambers must be sought; but on the Vatican, at the tomb of him who is the Founder and Father of modern and christian Rome—of the first of that line of princes, whose countenance has been for centuries the sun of Rome. For when averted or removed, what has ever ensued but misery, poverty, and threatened dissolution? To try the experiment once more would be the height of madness. St. Peter's chains have rivetted a bond between his line and the eternal city, which no Mazzini will ever break. Rome is the Eternal City, only because its princes have an eternal charter from an unfailing authority. These are gates stronger than those of any worldly city, which cannot prevail against the Rock. Let the new constitution mingle its foundations with those which already repose on it, and it will be secure: let it seek a separate site, and it will get—not upon sand—but upon a quicksand. Let the Cross between the Cross-Keys be the device of the Senate,—both to show under what sanction it sits, and to represent the symbol of its holy Pontiff in the series of Popes:

CRUX DE CRUCE.\*

As for ourselves, we gladly accept the omen of this description. The Cross is indeed the emblem of pain, of trial, of tribulation, and of sorrow. As such it must come. But the cross which springs from the Cross is ever bright, glorious, and majestic. † It was of gold upon the banner and the crown of Constantine; it was of light when it

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\* In Malachy's Prophecy of the Popes.

promised him victory in the heavens ; it will be of lightning when it reappears as the sign of the Son of Man. Our holy and dear Pontiff is now carrying his cross—the heavy Cross of Calvary ; may it soon bear fruit, and produce for him the second cross—the Cross of Light !

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ART. X.—*A History of the Holy Eastern Church.—The Patriarchate of Alexandria.* By the Rev. JOHN MASON NEALE, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. London : Masters, 1847.

ARCHBISHOP Abbot's celebrated letter to Cyril Lucaris, was addressed to "His most holy Lord and Brother, Cyril, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, and Œcumenical Judge." Mr. Neale has slightly improved upon this style and title, and dedicates his book "*to His Holiness Artemius, by Divine Mercy, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, Libya, Pentapolis, and all the preaching of St. Mark, and Œcumenical Judge.*" The name of "His Holiness Pope Artemius," will probably sound strange in the ears of most of our readers ; the dedication itself may possibly appear a little affected and fanciful ; but although Mr. Neale's former publications, especially his "*Hierologus*," would lead us to suspect that he is somewhat of a formalist in the externals of the ecclesiastical system, yet we are inclined to believe that this dedication is somewhat more than a form, and has an object beyond the mere effect which its novelty might be expected to produce. It is intended, we presume, as a pledge of the intercommunion of the Anglican and Alexandrian Churches, or at least, on Mr. Neale's part, as a manifestation of that fundamental theory of the Church party to which he belongs, that "the Anglican Church has never rejected the communion of the Western, and still less of the Eastern Church."

There was a time when an Anglican clergyman who should venture to speak civilly of "His Holiness Pope Artemius," much less to dedicate a book to him in respectful terms, would have run a serious risk of a citation

to the Court of Arches, if he escaped the more probable fate of incarceration in Bedlam. It is true that during the Patriarchate of the Greco-Calvinistic Cyril Lucaris, strong hopes were entertained of a union, at least in essentials, with the eastern Christians, and of the formation of a general confederation of all the enemies of Rome. But from the moment of the unequivocal reprobation of the western innovations, pronounced in the Council of Constantinople, and elicited by the daring attempt of Cyril, the idea had been abandoned as hopeless. The enemies of Rome in the West felt that the alliance of those eastern Churches which sympathized with them in this hostility, could only be purchased by the sacrifice of almost every principle on which they themselves differed from Rome, with the exception of the Papal Supremacy; the oriental Christians ceased to be taken into account at all, except by a few extreme high-church men, in the consideration of the questions debated between the rival Churches of the West; or if their communion was thought of at all, it was merely in the light of an anomalous association of opposing principles—as a compound of superannuated popery and protestantism in its nonage—a modification of popery without the pope, and of protestantism without the bible—maintaining, and indeed exaggerating, the worst corruption of the first without its vigour or enlightenment, and mimicking the self-reliance of the second without its courage or consistency.

It is true that there have always been some among the members of the Church of England,\* who looked with a more charitable and reverent eye upon those remnants of the great Churches of the East, which still maintain themselves among the barbarism by which they are surrounded. But since the middle of the seventeenth century—since that general identification of the East and West in all the leading doctrines which form the subject of modern controversy, to which the efforts of Cyril Lucaris to inoculate the East with Calvinism gave occasion, the popular view of eastern Christianity has, even in the Church of England, been in substance what we have described.

It can hardly be necessary, however, to say that in the new Church theories now popular in England, the Churches

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\* See Palmer's 'Treatise on the Church,' t. i. p. 150.

of the East occupy an important and prominent position. It would carry us beyond our present purpose, nevertheless, to enter into the consideration of these theories. We shall, perhaps, have another opportunity of examining the consistency of Mr. Neale's particular principles on this subject; but for the present our main concern with him is in his capacity of historian of the Eastern Church; nor should we have alluded to these general questions at all, unless for the purpose of enabling the reader to judge of the feeling and the spirit in which his history is composed. Mr. Neale not only avows that he writes in a spirit of respect, and even reverence, for the Oriental Church, but declares his opinion that "the historian should write, not as a member of the Roman, not as a member of the English Church, but as far as may be with oriental views, and even perhaps prepossessions." How far he has acted up to this theory in the composition of his history, we shall have occasion to see hereafter.

There can be no second opinion as to the importance of the subject which Mr. Neale has undertaken to illustrate. In English literature we have absolutely nothing on the subject. The scanty and imperfect outline of eastern affairs which is to be found in the Church historians and other ecclesiastical writers of England, does not deserve the name of history at all. The modern ecclesiastical writers of the continent are almost equally unsatisfactory; even the Germans, prolific as is their literature, afford but little information on the branch of the subject to which Mr. Neale's present volumes are devoted. F. Theiner, in his learned and accurate work,\* confines himself almost exclusively to the Russian and Russo-Greek Churches; and indeed chiefly to the modern history of both; and the work of Schmitt,† notwithstanding the pretension of its title, is rather an account of the present condition and constitution of the Church in Greece and in Russia than a history of either Church. Here, therefore, as in most other subjects of ecclesiastical interest, we are thrown back upon the labours of the great men of the past generation, whom, until lately, it was the fashion to decry: to

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\* *Die neueste Zustände der Kathol. Kirche, beiden Ritus in Polen und Russland.* Augsburg, 1841.

† *Kritische Geschichte der neu-griechischen und der Russischen Kirche.* Maintz, 1840.

the Dominican Le Quien for the general history of the Patriarchate of Alexandria: to the Jesuit Sollierius, or the Abbè Renandot, for the succession of the Jacobite Patriarchs. Mr. Neale has drawn freely upon these and various other sources, especially in the later period of the history. For the earlier centuries, and indeed as far as the occupation of Alexandria by the Saracens, his volumes contain little that is new. His account of the Arian, the Nestorian, the Eutychian, and the Monothelite controversies, though learned in some particulars, is, in general, but a meagre abstract of the larger historians; and he has condensed it so much, and confined it so strictly to a mere detail of facts, that we fear it will hardly be found to possess much popular interest. But the history of the Alexandrian Patriarchate under the Saracen domination, though, from the defective nature of the materials, it can hardly be considered as forming a continuous and complete narrative, will be gratefully received as a substantial and important contribution to a subject which is comparatively unknown. When it is recollected that, with the exception of the scattered, and for the most part unfriendly and contemptuous, notices of the ecclesiastical affairs of the East, during this period, which are to be gleaned among the miscellaneous learning of Gibbon's extraordinary work, there is literally nothing in the English language from which we could gather even the elements of its history, it will be easy to estimate the value of a minute and careful compilation from the best authorities, drawn up in a spirit so reverential, and, in many respects so impartial, as that which breathes through the pages of Mr. Neale.

The later period of the history, especially the seventeenth century, is still more interesting, and its materials still more new. Mr. Neale's account of Cyril Lucaris, and of his abortive project for the inoculation of the East with Calvinism, is in many respects extremely valuable. He has not only collected and combined all the published materials for his biography, but he has had the good fortune to obtain from the archives of Geneva, several unpublished letters of considerable interest. We are far from coinciding in some of his statements and views regarding this important period; but we gladly acknowledge the value of the new materials for its illustration which his industry has brought together. The controversy, too, which followed



this attempt of Cyril, is detailed with considerable minuteness; but below this period, and especially from the time of the patriarch of Cosmas (1730), with which the catalogue of Le Quien terminates, the history is little more than a mere succession of names, for which the author is indebted to "His late Holiness, Hierotheus, Catholic Patriarch of Alexandria."

There is one defect in Mr. Neale's book which cannot fail to prove a serious drawback on its usefulness, as well as on the interest with which it will be read. His original plan had included a general introduction, in which he meant to comprise many details of explanation regarding the sacred geography, the present condition, the usages and discipline, and, in general, the various peculiarities of the ecclesiastical constitution of the Alexandrian Patriarchate, for which it is impossible to find a convenient place in a regular work upon its history. In the progress of the author's task, however, the materials having grown beyond his expectation, he found it necessary to abandon the idea of prefixing this introduction to the present work, which already filled two goodly octavo volumes; and he resolved to reserve it for publication as a separate and independent publication. The consequence has been, that the history, in its present form, is obscure and unsatisfactory in many particulars on which the introduction would have afforded, and was intended to afford, abundant and easy explanation. And as it would seem that the change of plan was not adopted until after the work had passed entirely, or in great part through the press, there is no attempt to supply by notes, or in any other way, the explanations which are so indispensably necessary.

In the absence of such explanation on the part of the author, it may be necessary for us to remind the reader that the ancient Patriarchate of Alexandria comprised within its jurisdiction, all that portion of the Roman empire which was comprehended in the civil Diocese of Egypt, consisting of six provinces, viz. Upper Libya, Lower Libya, or Pentapolis, the Thebaid, Egypt, Arcadia, or Heptapolis, and Augustamnica, which had originally formed part of the province of Egypt. According to the primitive constitutions, and before the commencement of that long series of encroachments by which the patriarchs of Constantinople, supported by the imperial authority, and favoured by a variety of concurring advantages, established

a claim of precedence, Alexandria, the see of St. Mark, was regarded as the second in the Church, and only inferior in rank to that of Rome. It comprised within its ecclesiastical rule one hundred and eight bishops within the provinces above enumerated, and, in later times, its jurisdiction extended thence into Abyssinia. How melancholy the contrast between the ancient Church and its fallen and oppressed successor! With the exception of the province of Africa, where even the name of Christianity has been obliterated, the Church has never seen a revolution so signal and so complete, the entire christian world does not present a spectacle so melancholy, as the modern patriarchate of Alexandria, shorn of all the glories which it won in the early days of Christianity. The great body of this once christian people, sunk in ignorance and infidelity—the small remnant which has escaped this consummation of apostacy, for the most part involved in a subtle, obstinate, and seductive heresy—and all, with but a few exceptions, separated from the communion of that Church to which the Alexandria of old ever looked with special fondness as its own peculiar parent, before which the patriarch Dionysius was arraigned as a criminal, and Athanasius appeared as a claimant for justice and redress;—it may be said with terrible truth of the fallen Church of Athanasius, that the curse of barrenness has descended upon her. The once flourishing Churches which owned her rule have fallen away one by one from her side. In the time of Le Quien, (early in the last century,) the Melchite patriarch, out of the hundred and eight bishops who acknowledged the jurisdiction of his predecessors, could number but four—Lybia, or Ethiopia, Memphis, Pelusium or Damietta, and Rosetta; since his time even these have disappeared, and now the “School of the Prophets,” she to whom the whole East looked of old for strength and orthodoxy,—she who “illuminated the entire world with her light,” is herself all but a forgotten outcast—bereft of even this shadow of former fertility,—without a hierarchy, without a people, without a living voice,—a very Niobe of Churches,

“Childless and crownless in her voiceless woe!”

The few Christians who remain in the Patriarchate of Alexandria are divided into two principal sections—those who call themselves Orthodox or Catholic, and maintain the

faith of the Two Natures in Christ, as propounded against Eutyches in the Council of Chalcedon; and those (called Jacobites, from Jacobus Barradeus, one of their first founders) who inherit the Monophysite heresy of Dioscorus, and claim descent through him from the apostolic founder of the Church. There is besides a third communion, which Mr. Neale regards as schismatical, and of which he takes hardly any notice—of those who are united with the Holy See, and recognise the primacy of the Pope, as well as the twofold procession of the Second Person of the adorable Trinity. As it is not unlikely, however, that he has held over this and similar questions for separate consideration in the Introduction, we shall take another opportunity of returning to this subject, and of examining what must be regarded as one of the most important and most practically interesting views of the relations which subsist between the several branches of the Church.

For the present, therefore, it will be sufficient to explain that, under the name of the Catholic communion in the Patriarchate of Alexandria, are comprehended those christians who, though differing from Rome on the questions of the Procession of the Holy Ghost and the Roman supremacy, have remained uninfected by the Monophysite heresy, and still maintain the authority of the creed of Chalcedon. It will be recollected that, after the condemnation of Eutychianism in that assembly, his turbulent and unscrupulous supporter, Dioscorus, had influence and credit enough at home to fix upon that council the imputation of the opposite error of Nestorianism, and to involve a large body of the clergy and people of his patriarchate in the opposition to its authority. The schism, begun in ignorance, was perpetuated in obstinacy. The violent and oppressive measures by which the Greek emperors sought to enforce the decree of Chalcedon, had the effect of exasperating party feeling, and of rendering it inveterate; patriarchs and bishops, in violation of the letter of the ancient canonical usages of the Church, were forced upon them at the dictation of the authorities at Constantinople; the Catholics were stigmatized as the slaves of the court, and branded with the odious name of *Melchites* or *Royalists*; and, in the progress of the contest, so completely had the spirit of sectarianism overcome or extinguished the feeling of patriotism or nationality, that, at the time of the Saracen invasion, the schismatics did not hesitate, in their

animosity towards the Catholic, which was also the imperial party, to give up their cities and places of strength to the invaders. The favour which they thus secured with the conquerors, had the effect of placing them for a time in the position of the dominant church, and has been the means of perpetuating to the present day, not only the heresy which they profess, but the contests and dissensions between the members of the two rival communions. Mr. Neale has endeavoured to trace the history of both separately. His work, in many respects, displays great learning and research, although, from the imperfect nature of his materials, he has not always been able to render the narrative complete or continuous; but from a passage, however, in one of the concluding chapters, (vol. ii. p. 474.) we conclude that he has reserved for the introduction his observations on the present comparative condition of the two churches in the Alexandrian patriarchate; and perhaps the deficiency, which is now observable, may thus be remedied.

It is no part of our present plan, as we have already intimated, to enter into an examination of the church principles on which the history of Alexandria is written, or of the theory of Church unity on which its views of the affairs of the East are based. All this will be sufficiently understood by those who are familiar with the leading principles of the movement party in the Anglican Church, among whom Mr. Neale used to occupy a prominent place. We had intended to premise a short summary of the most prominent facts in the history, as detailed by Mr. Neale. But, on consideration, we have thought it more expedient to omit this summary. Its earlier periods would contain little which is not familiar to the reader of general ecclesiastical history; and, for the latter portion, it will easily be understood that a series of annals so meagre and imperfect as those which comprise the Mahometan rule, could hardly prove susceptible of farther condensation, at least with any chance of interesting the student. We have thought it therefore at once more interesting and more instructive to confine ourselves to a few leading points, selected according to their importance, or their comparative novelty.

We must begin by reminding the reader of Mr. Neale's very extraordinary avowal, that this history cannot be written except by one who entertains "Oriental views, feelings, and even, perhaps, prepossessions." It may possibly be that in this he does not mean all that his words imply.

If his object be simply to express, in a very strong way, the necessity of the historian's feeling a lively interest in the subject which he has selected, and in every thing which bears directly or indirectly on its illustration, it is impossible not to agree in the justice of the observation. But unquestionably the words imply a great deal more, and if they really meant one half of what they imply, they would go to destroy the truthfulness of history altogether. Prepossessions of any kind are fatal to impartiality; and we need hardly add, that there is no subject in which this has been exhibited with more melancholy evidence, than that of Church history and its kindred sciences.

Prepossession in favour of one side of a question, is sure, if the question happen to have two sides, to involve prepossession against the other; nor should it be matter of surprise if the prepossession in favour of the East, thus honestly avowed by Mr. Neale, developes itself unconsciously in the form of antagonism to the claims of Rome. Such prejudices as these, strange as it may appear, are perfectly compatible with a high degree of fancied impartiality; indeed, the very frankness with which they are avowed, evinces a conviction on the part of the writer, that he may yield himself to their influence without any violation of moral duty; and hence we can very well understand how it is that Mr. Neale gives himself credit for an excess of candour, at the very time that his preconceived theory of the independence of the Alexandrian Patriarchate deprives him of all power of reasoning fairly upon facts, and completely unfits him to recognize even those evidences of the supreme authority of Rome, which are afforded by the very events which he himself records. Nothing, for example, can be less objectionable than the manner in which he relates the accusation preferred against St. Dionysius, Patriarch of Alexandria, before his namesake St. Dionysius of Rome, A. D. 259.

"Some who were entirely opposed to the doctrine of Sabellius, saw as much danger in that of Dionysius; and their zeal caused them to forget their charity. Without writing to their own patriarch, without considering that he might be able to explain, or willing to retract that which they deemed heretical in his statements, they laid a formal complaint before S. Dionysius of Rome, who had succeeded S. Sixtus in A. D. 259. The heads of their charge were two;—that the Bishop of Alexandria asserted the Son to be a creature, and refused the word and the doctrine of Consub-

stantiality. A council, whether already assembled for some other cause, or convoked by the Pope to decide on this, condemned without hesitation the doctrine contained in, or deduced from, the extracts submitted to them. The Bishop of Rome wrote in their name, as well as in his own, to his namesake of Alexandria, informing him both of the charges made against him, and of the decision to which the council of Rome had come."—Vol. i. p. 72.

Every circumstance here—the party accused, viz. the legitimate and unquestionable patriarch of Alexandria—the accusers, orthodox catholics of his own patriarchate—the reference of the cause to a different patriarchate—the nature of this reference, which Mr. Neale describes as "a formal complaint," and St. Athanasius\* as an accusation (*κατηρήκασιν*)—its originating with the parties themselves, and without any citation or invitation on the part of Rome—the condemnation unhesitatingly pronounced:—all these circumstances appear very plainly to imply a right on the part of the subjects of the Alexandrian patriarch, to refer causes from their own patriarchate, and even where the patriarch himself is a party, to the adjudication of the Bishop of Rome, as well as a right on his part to adjudicate in such causes. They are all detailed by St. Athanasius without a single word of censure, or a single observation which would lead one to suppose that he saw anything irregular or uncanonical in such recognition of the supreme jurisdiction of Rome. And yet in all this Mr. Neale can see nothing except that "the Bishop of Alexandria found himself put, as it were, upon his trial, *with Rome for his accuser*, and the whole Church for his judge!" We shall have occasion to keep this in mind during the course of our examination.

It would detain us too long to enter into Mr. Neale's history of the celebrated case of St. Athanasius; but we cannot suppress the conviction that here again Mr. Neale's "prepossessions" have disqualified him for an impartial verdict; that he was afraid to look the facts of this remarkable affair fairly and unshrinkingly in the face, and to draw from them the consequences which they inevitably involve. Consistently with his preconceived theory, he cannot recognize in the Roman Pontiff, as such, any jurisdiction in this, or the similar case of Marcellus of Ancyra,

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\* De Sententia S. Dionysii. Opera I, p. 252.



subjects of a different patriarchate deposed from their office by the bishops of their own church. Hence, although for this period of this history, "the ordinary historians, Eusebius, Sozomen, Socrates, are his chief authority,"\* he takes no notice, nevertheless, of the account of the transaction given by Socrates, that "Julius, Bishop of the Roman city, *because the Roman Church possessed a privilege beyond all others*, sent letters into the East, in virtue of which *they were restored to their sees*, and those who had rashly deposed them were severely rebuked."† He shuts his eyes equally as to the view taken of it by Sozomen, who not only expressly affirms that "he (Julius) reinstated each of them in his own church," but attributes this interference to the fact that "*by reason of the dignity of his see, the care of all churches appertained to him*."‡ and he perseveringly represents the proceeding as the act of the synod called by Julius, and not his own act, in the face, not only of these historians—themselves orientals and nowise favourable to Rome—but also of the united Fathers of the council of Sardica, who describe it as "*the judgment (κρισις) of their brother and fellow bishop, Julius*."§ The strange forgetfulness of these remarkable declarations—the omission of Julius's letter to the Eusebians||—the disregard of the practical commentaries upon this letter by Socrates, and Sozomen, and Epiphanius ¶—these are things which indeed can only be explained on the hypothesis of strong "prepossessions" against Rome.

But we must not allow ourselves to be led away into these controversies, which belong rather to the general history of the Church, than to that of the Alexandrian Patriarchate in particular; and indeed we have already

\* Pref. p. xii.

† Socratis Histor. II, 11, p. 233. [Collective Edit. of Historians, Basil, 1587.]

‡ Sozomen, III. 7. Ibid, p. 444.

§ Harduin Acta Concil, I. 656.

|| He alludes to this letter in general terms (p. 181) as "asserting the privileges of his see;" but we hear nothing of what these privileges are. Pope Pius IX. could scarcely speak more strongly. See Coustant's *Epistolæ Rom. Pont.* I. col. 386.

¶ Cited by Coustant, col. 386.

too long detained the reader from Mr. Neale's own work. We shall proceed therefore, without further delay, to that portion of the history which is peculiarly Oriental. It is chiefly comprised in the second volume, which commences immediately after the condemnation of Eutyches in Chalcedon. The deposition of Dioscorus was the signal of revolt.

"At the conclusion of the Council, Dioscorus was banished to Gangra, in Paphlagonia: and four of the bishops whom he had brought with him to Chalcedon, sailed to Alexandria, with the Emperor's mandate for the election of another Patriarch. They found that the decision of the Council was received with the greatest indignation in Egypt: that the people were resolute against receiving another Patriarch during the life-time of Dioscorus; and that their own motions were watched with great dislike and suspicion. At length, Proterius, Arch-Priest of the Church of Alexandria, was elected to fill the vacant throne: the people being the more willing to receive him, as having been left by Dioscorus in charge of the Church. But many still continued to consider Dioscorus as their rightful Patriarch: a sedition arose: the heretics attacked and routed the magistrates and their troops: besieged them in what had formerly been the temple of Serapis, whither they had escaped for refuge, and burnt them alive in it. A body of soldiers, sent by Marcian to quell the tumult, who reached Alexandria in the extraordinarily short time of six days, though successful in restoring order to the city, behaved so insolently, as to alienate still more completely the minds of the inhabitants from their rightful Patriarch: and during the whole of his Episcopate, Proterius could never consider himself in safety without a guard of soldiers.

"The schism, thus begun, continues, as is well known, to the present day: the followers of Dioscorus far outnumbered the Catholics of Egypt. The former are generally known by the name of Jacobites; the latter, by that of Melchites. To enter into the origin of these appellations, and into the general history of the sect, will tend to explain the future progress of our history.

"It may well be believed that Dioscorus, in his exile at Gangra, ceased not to spread his heresy by all the means in his power. But he only survived the Council two years and a few months: and we find S. Leo, in a letter bearing date December 6, 454, expressing his hope that, with the death of the heresiarch, the heresy would die. Such, however, was not the case. The murderer Barsumas, who had been condemned at Chalcedon, returned into Syria, and there propagated his heresy: his disciple Samuel carried it into Armenia: it took deep root in Alexandria and Ethiopia: but its greatest propagator was Jacobus

Baradaeus, or Zanzalus, Bishop of Edessa, who flourished a century later than Dioscorus. This man possessed considerable talents and unwearied energy, and from him the series of Monophysite Patriarchs of the East may be said to have had its rise. From him also the name of Jacobite was assumed: though writers of that sect affirm it to have had its origin from James, the Lord's brother.

"The appellation of Melchites, or followers of the King, was fixed on the Catholics as a term of reproach by their opponents: by way of implying that their reception of the Council of Chalcedon was merely in compliment to the Emperor Marcian. The term, however, was never objected to by the orthodox: and by their own writers is employed to designate the Catholics even before the time of the Fourth Œcumenical Council. It caused them much trouble under the Mahomedan tyranny: the Jacobites rendered the Caliphs suspicious of the Melchites, as friendly to the Eastern Emperors: and this constant habit of dependance on Constantinople has not, it must be confessed, been without disastrous consequences to the Egyptian Catholics. Not only did it cause them voluntarily to resign their claim to be the Second Church, out of complaisance to the Emperors: but it has gradually introduced among them the rites and ceremonies of Constantinople, and destroyed all those national peculiarities, which the Jacobites retain, and with the loss of which they taunt their opponents, and stigmatize them as foreigners and intruders.

"No heresy has ever been divided into more sects than the Monophysite. But two grand divisions include the whole. Pure Eutychianism was the heresy of Barsumas and of his disciple Samuel: Monophysitism, that of Dioscorus and his followers. The former asserted that the Divinity was the sole nature in CHRIST: whence it followed that His Body was not Consubstantial to our own, but a mere phantasma; and this was the extreme tenet of the Phantasiasts. The latter hold that, as body and soul make one man, so the Divinity and Humanity make up one compound Nature in CHRIST. Egypt was always Monophysite; Armenia, always Eutychian; and the Armenian Church symbolized its heresy by forbidding the till then universal practice of mingling water with wine in the Chalice. But Syria fluctuated between the two forms of heresy; and after at first receiving that of Barsumas, was, chiefly by the efforts of Severus of Antioch, and Jacobus Baradaeus himself, drawn into that of the Monophysites. The Jacobites are willing to anathematize Eutyches and his adherents. The Liturgy which goes by the name of Dioscorus, expressly denies this heresy. The priest, immediately before the consecration, is ordered to say:—'Who, when He beheld our race ruined, and spoiled by the spiritual lion, sent the Only Begotten God for its salvation: Who, Incarnate by the HOLY GHOST, and born of the

Virgin Mary, and that by a carnal, and not phantastical nativity, became in verity the Son of Man.'"

"Of the names of the unhappy sects into which Monophysitism has subdivided itself, we shall hereafter be compelled to speak more at length. The usual names of the extreme sections were Eutychianists, from their author: Phantasiasts and Docetæ, from their attributing to CHRIST only an apparent Humanity;—those of the more moderate faction, Dioscorians; Severians, from Severus, the celebrated Patriarch of Antioch; Timotheans, from Timothy the Cat; Theodosians, from Theodosius of Alexandria."—Vol. ii. pp. 5-8.

The Jacobite heresy, however, is not confined to the Patriarchate of Alexandria. It extends to that of Antioch also; and a sect of the Armenian church professes the Eutychian doctrines, though this sect is not in communion with the Antiochian or Alexandrian Jacobites.

The schism commenced under the patriarchate of St. Proterius by the notorious Timotheus Ælurus, (Timothy the Cat,) continued through all the controversies of this distracted period—the Monothelite controversy, that upon the Henoticon, and even the Iconoclast. The internal dissensions of the Alexandrians were but little modified by the general controversies which disturbed the Church, nor did they abate in their fury even when both the contending parties fell alike under the Mahometan yoke. The possession of the see of Alexandria alternated between the parties for a time, until eventually each communion maintained a distinct and independent succession:

Mr. Neale's account of the mode of electing the Patriarchs observed among the Jacobites is extremely interesting. It is condensed from Renaudot's treatise, *De Patriarchâ Alexandrino*. The place of election was sometimes Alexandria, sometimes Cairo; and about the eleventh century, a custom arose of holding the election in these cities alternately. The electoral body comprised the Prelates of the patriarchate, the clergy and principal laity of Cairo and of Alexandria, and especially the priests of the church of St. Mark in the latter city, in whom, by the original usage, the election was exclusively vested. They had the right of voting first in order, and the right of proposing the candidate rested with the clergy and the laity, the bishops, however, enjoying the liberty of protest. After the establishment of the Mahometan rule, a license from the Emir or the Sultan was required as a first preliminary.

The most remarkable peculiarity, however, was the manner of voting in the election.

"It was necessary that the suffrages should be unanimous; and where there was a difference of opinion, the Bishops endeavoured, to the utmost of their power, that the matter should be discussed in an amicable manner: and any necessary length of time was allowed, for the purpose of arriving at a unanimous decision. There may be said to have been three parties influencing the result—the Prelates, the Alexandrians, and the Cairites. The Priests and laics voted together; the Bishops formed a separate body. But when an election was incapable of being decided in the ordinary method, recourse was had, in a solemn manner, to casting lots. In the first place, a hundred Monks were selected, of such as appeared fittest for the Patriarchate. From these, by plurality of voices, fifty were chosen; from these, twenty-five; from these, ten; and from these again, three. It might happen, that a sudden outburst of feeling directed itself in favour of one of the three; and in this case the thing was considered as providentially arranged; but if this did not occur, then the matter was committed to the lot. This casting of lots was known by the name of *Heikelia*, or *Heikeliet*, a derivative from the word *Heikel*, which signifies the Holy of Holies, and even the altar itself; because it was at the Altar that the matter was entrusted to the Hand of God. The name of each of the candidates was written on a piece of parchment, and the three placed in an urn, a fourth being added, inscribed with the Name of JESUS CHRIST THE GOOD SHEPHERD: and the urn itself was placed under the altar. Mass was then celebrated at the same altar, sometimes once only, sometimes on three days: and prayers offered in the same church day and night. At the termination of these offices of devotion, a young child was directed to take one of the pieces of parchment from the urn; and if it bore the name of any of the three candidates, the party so designated was at once proclaimed Patriarch, and none dared to question the validity of his election. But if it happened that the schedule chosen bore the SAVIOUR'S Name, it was concluded that none of the three persons nominated were acceptable to God: and the whole process was repeated, until the lot pointed out some other candidate.

"There were many requisites necessary to render it allowable to aspire to the dignity of Patriarch. It was necessary that the candidate should himself be free, and born of parents that were also free; that his father had been the only, or at least the first husband of his mother; that he should be sound in members, of good health, and at least of the age of fifty; should strictly have observed continence; should not even have been married, though by compulsion, and only in name; should never have shed the blood of man or beast; should either be a native of Egypt, or

familiarly acquainted with the tongue ; should be sufficiently well learned ; of good character ; not a Bishop ; should not be elevated by the favour of the Emir ; and should be of undoubted orthodoxy. On two of these conditions it seems necessary to say a few words.

“ That which enjoins that the Patriarch should be the child of his mother's first marriage, is thus to be explained. The Eastern Church not only condemns fourth marriages as absolutely unlawful, but considers both second and third marriages as in some degree blameable : third marriages indeed have been, in certain cases, prohibited. The benediction of the bride and bridegroom, which is, by the Eastern Church, called their coronation, because crowns are placed on their heads, does not take place when either of the parties have been previously married, neither are they, or rather were they, admitted to Communion for a certain time subsequently—generally, in case of a bigamist, two, in case of a trigamist, five years. Hence a distinction was drawn between the son of a *crowned* and of an *uncrowned* mother : and as it was thought fit to present the most pure only to be the servants of the ALMIGHTY, the latter were excluded from all ranks of the hierarchy, and much more from the dignity of Patriarch. The bigamy of the father did not, however, exclude the son even from that post.

“ The learning required in the Patriarch is chiefly to be understood of a thorough knowledge both of the Arabic and Coptic tongues. The Coptic, the vernacular language at the time of the Mahometan invasion, gradually gave way to the Arabic, which was introduced by the conquerors ; but the Jacobites tenaciously clung, for the most part, to the former. In the Thebaid, and the remoter provinces, where the number of christians was large in comparison with that of Mussulmans, Coptic long flourished ; but in lower Egypt, especially at Alexandria and Cairo, it was speedily replaced by Arabic. In all cases, however, it was retained for the Divine offices, and thus became the Ecclesiastical language : and hence the necessity that the Patriarch should be well acquainted with it.

“ The practice of raising to the Patriarchate none but those who were Monks was gradually introduced, but at last passed into a settled rule ; and at the present time the privilege is still further restricted to the monasteries, which we have mentioned in our Introduction. We shall have occasion, in the sequel of this history, to notice several instances in which the above-mentioned conditions were violated or relaxed.

“ When the election was over, the people gave their assent, as in other places, by exclaiming either in Greek, or in their own language, *He is worthy*. The Bishop elect was then, as he still is, fettered, in a poor imitation of the golden days of the Church, when as in the case of Demetrius, the twelfth Patriarch, those designed for the Episcopate were so conscious of its fearful respon-



sibility, that it was sometimes necessary to employ force in their consecration.

"The Patriarch elect was then received, brought forward, and the senior Bishop spoke a few words in his praise. The deed of election—in Arabic, Tazkiet; in Greek, Psephisma—was next prepared: it ran in the name of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, the Christians of Alexandria, and of the whole of Egypt. And this form seems to have been preserved, even after the place of election was always at Cairo. The instrument first dwelt at length on the praises of the deceased Patriarch, the public grief, the regular assembly for a new election, the inquiry into the character of the person proposed, his virtues, and his choice. This document was signed by the Bishops who were present, in order of their consecration; the senior Bishop, who had the title Akbar, or Mokaddem, affixing his name first. Nor did the Metropolitan of Damietta, when that dignity was constituted about the twelfth century, claim the prerogative of precedence. The formula of subscription, in the Coptic language, was thus: 'I, M., Bishop of the city N., that loveth CHRIST, consent to this Psephisma.' After the Bishops, three Priests and three deacons of Alexandria subscribed, who represented the whole of the Alexandrian Clergy. Next in order, the Archimandrite of the monastery of S. Macarius attached his name; and he was followed by several of the principal laity, as well of Alexandria as of Cairo.

"If the party elected were an Arch-priest, or Comus, or a Hegumen, he might immediately, on the next Sunday, be consecrated Patriarch. But if a simple Monk were chosen, it was considered necessary for him to pass the inferior orders. On the first day he was made Deacon; on the second, Priest; on the third, Arch-Priest; and so, on the following Sunday, he was constituted Patriarch. Before, however, this took place, the Bishop elect was taken before the Emir, that his *Sigel*, or deed of confirmation, might be secured. The principal Prelates and most eminent among the laity accompanied him: and, in times of peace, the procession was conducted with great pomp; the Priests went first, with tapers, crosses, censers, and the Books of the Gospel: the Deacons followed: then came the Bishops, surrounding the Patriarch elect, who was mounted on an ass, as well to imitate the humility of the entering of our SAVIOUR into Jerusalem, as because, by the Mahometan laws, Christians were forbidden to use horses. The procession was closed by a promiscuous assemblage of Christian laity. The same order was observed in returning, except that a guard of honour accompanied the Christians, not less by way of assuring protection, than of conferring dignity."—pp. 101-104.

The fourth and fifth books of the history comprise the period from the commencement of the Mahometan dynasty to the first establishment of the Portuguese in the East,

which exercised a considerable influence upon the affairs of the Church. It would be painful, as well as tedious, to attempt any analysis of these dreary annals—a long series of dissension and animosity within, and of humiliation and oppression without. Notwithstanding an occasional gleam of interest, there are but few pages in this melancholy history on which the mind can rest without pain. But among the numberless tales of slavery and oppression, which form the staple of these records, it is gratifying to meet a scene like the following. The Patriarch Cyril [A. D. 1086.] had a dispute with some of his suffragans, in the progress of which the bishops proceeded to the extraordinary step of presenting a memorial to the Vizir, calling upon him to examine and condemn the conduct of the Patriarch. The Vizir received the appeal, and called a synod of bishops, including the accused Patriarch himself.

“The Synod assembled in a country-house of the Vizir's near Misra. The Vizir opened it with an harangue, in which he severely rebuked the Prelates for having neglected the honour which, as he was informed, was due from them to their Patriarch. It was impossible for him, he said, unacquainted with their customs, and ignorant of their laws, to judge in the case before him, unless he had some written documents to direct and to confirm his decision. He therefore requested both the accuser and accused to prepare from their Canons and other ecclesiastical pieces, such a compendium as they thought most likely to enable him to pronounce a correct judgment, and to do that justice to both parties which he wished. The Synod thus dismissed, Cyril and his partisans drew up their authorities, and the same course was pursued by his opponents; and the documents thus prepared were put into the hands of the Vizir. After a delay of three weeks, in which he had punished with death his head gardener for contemptuous conduct towards the Patriarch, the Vizir again summoned the Bishops before him. He had not, he said, read the collections of Canons which they had put in his hands, nor did he mean to read them: his duty was plain, and so was theirs. He could do nothing else but exhort them to unity and peace, as worshippers of the same God, as professors of the same religion. He had heard complaints of the inordinate love of money exhibited by some then before him: he cautioned them against such avarice: the proper use which a Bishop should make of money was not to pamper his appetite nor to minister to his luxuries, but, as CHRIST Himself had commanded, to give alms to the poor: the Canons which they had brought forward were doubtless good, but it was better to practise than to quote them; the lives of some to whom he spoke fell far below the mark which they prescribed: charity, good faith, and brotherly

kindness, were virtues which he could not too strongly recommend, nor they too strenuously follow. Finally, that he might not be accused of preaching that which he did not practise, he gave directions to one of his officers to inquire into the particular affairs of each Prelate, and to give him a written document assuring him of immunity and protection."—Vol. ii. pp. 226-7

In terrible contrast with this interesting scene, we are tempted to place the following picture of the servitude and degradation to which the christians of both communions were commonly subjected by their Mahometan rulers :

"We may here make a few remarks on the low state to which all these occurrences prove the Church of Alexandria to have been reduced. The danger of acting on the Canons, when to obey them might be to offend the Emir or the Caliph, opened the door to a long train of abuses : but in nothing more than in the administration of Penitence. The dispensing power of the Patriarchs was often stretched to its utmost limits, and sometimes exceeded them : and there was no tribunal before which they could be arraigned, and no earthly superior whom they could fear. A general synod of Egyptian Bishops might have done much : but these assemblies were, not unnaturally, regarded with feelings of suspicion and dislike by the Mahometans, and seldom took place, except when a convocation of at least twelve Prelates was necessary for the election of a new Patriarch. If ever a Synod was allowed to meet, it was one scene of confusion and disgrace : the minority appealed to the heathen Prince, and made up in brute force what was wanting in justice or in persuasiveness. Excommunication was used as an instrument for the revenge of private wrongs : the celestial power of binding and loosing was prostituted to the subservience of human passions, or the attainment of the objects of earthly ambition. To meet the relaxation of discipline, it was usual for the Bishops, as we shall see, to draw up certain heads or Canons of Reformation, to which they compelled the Patriarch elect to swear assent, before consecration. But this step was of little use : and thus, in the Jacobite Communion, discipline fell lower and lower, the Patriarchs became more and more careless of their charge, the appeal to the heathen tribunal more and more common, and Absolution little more than a dead letter, till, as we shall have occasion to relate, a Patriarch was judged by his own suffragans, and the evil in some degree remedied."—Vol. ii. pp. 166-167.

In the contest which led to the great schism of the East and West, Alexandria, long reduced to a subordinate rank, had but little interest, and took but a minor part.

The particulars of this event, which belong almost exclusively to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, can hardly be said to come within the scope of Mr. Neale's history; and hence we are the more surprised to find him, in the few observations which he devotes to the affair of Photius, unhesitatingly adopt the most unjust, though long popular, view of Pope John's conduct, which we had believed to be now universally rejected. In relating the reinstatement of Photius in the patriarchal chair after the death of Ignatius, he observes, (ii. p. 167) that "even Rome, with a vacillation most unusual to her, sent her legate to assist in the reinstatement of the intruder; and John VIII. then proclaimed, either that he himself was now mistaken, or that his predecessor, Adrian II., had decided unjustly with the former Synod of Constantinople." If we had no record of these proceedings but the acts of Photius's own council, and no evidence of the sentiments of Pope John beyond the fraudulent and mutilated translation of his letter published in the council by this daring man, the charges made against him of weakness and vacillation would be fully substantiated. But, fortunately for John's memory, the original letters are still preserved, and supply at once a complete vindication of the Pontiff, and a most damning proof of the all but incredible duplicity and falsehood of the intruder.\*

The fortunes of the Church in the Patriarchate of Alexandria were but little affected by the revolutions which befel the Greek Empire of Constantinople; nor, indeed, can even the Crusades, though closely connected with Alexandrian history, be said to have had much influence upon its internal ecclesiastical affairs, at least in the relation under which we are now considering them. Perhaps the most interesting event in the internal history of the Alexandrian Church during the mediæval period, is the great controversy on the subject of confession, which arose towards the close of the twelfth century. Mr. Neale's account of it is well worth transcribing.

"We have already had occasion to observe that the Penitential Canons had, in consequence of the complete subjection of the Jaco-

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\* It would be impossible for us to enter into the question here. It is one of the most daring and flagitious instances of forgery upon record, and is fully exposed by the Abbè Jager in his *Vie de Photius*, pp. 204, and foll.

bite Church to the Infidels, greatly fallen into disuse. The most heinous offenders were received without penance : apostates, on professing a wish to return, seem to have been, in many instances, at once admitted to full Communion : and discipline was well nigh at an end. Corrupted in practice, the Penitential Canons soon became corrupted in theory : until at length the power of binding and of loosing was, if not denied, at least slighted and neglected.

"We have, in our Introduction, related the various steps by which a belief was introduced into the Coptic Church, that the burning of the Incense at the commencement of the Liturgy was, in some mysterious manner, connected with the remission of sins which the people then privately confessed. Gradually the rite was considered to convey Sacramental Absolution : and by a natural deduction from false premises, confession in a private house before a lighted censer, was elevated to the same dignity : and the office of the Priest was disused as superfluous. This practice was probably at first confined to the more ignorant Copts ; gradually it seems to have extended itself to others, and finally was authorized by John V. Ebnassal gives a reason for the suppression of confession, in which there probably was much truth. The character of the Priests, he says, was so notoriously bad, that more harm than good arose from the ancient practice : and he illustrates his meaning in a manner, that, if taken literally, is heretical. Confession, says he, is spiritual medicine. Now, as temporal medicine, to be of use, must be administered by a wise and good physician, so must spiritual also.

"This absurd novelty was not unopposed. Mark, the son of Kunbar, an ecclesiastic of remarkable powers, who had been ordained Priest by the Bishop of Damietta, preached earnestly and popularly the necessity of Priestly absolution. The innovators immediately attacked his private character. He had been married, they said : but, anxious to obtain the Priesthood, had persuaded his wife to remarry some other person, professing herself single. John was, of course, only too happy to avail himself of this tale for the purpose of excommunicating Mark.

"The excommunicated Priest showed, by his deeds, his contempt of the censure : he began publicly to expound Holy Scripture, and his expositions attracted, by their learning and eloquence, a large and attentive auditory. He dwelt especially on the absolute necessity of Auricular Confession, and Sacerdotal Absolution : the latter he affirmed to be essential to the Remission of Sin. He exposed the folly of imagining that Confession in the presence of a burning censer, a practice entirely unknown to all antiquity, could be of more avail than secret confession under any other circumstances, or with any other adjuncts. The consequence was, that multitudes flocked to confess to him, and he gave, in spite of his excommunication, penance and absolution.

"The contrast is singular, if we compare this popular movement in favour of Confession, and the popular outburst in the German Reformation against it. Indeed, the spectacle of the abandonment of this practice by the Prelates, while it was insisted on by the Faithful, of the Church, is probably unparalleled in Ecclesiastical History."—Vol. ii. 262-363.

The details of the controversy are too prolix for insertion, but it terminated in the revival of the practice.

"At present, we need only observe, that its necessity is fully recognised by the Coptic Church, though negligently performed, and too often omitted. It is believed, however, that in the case of single persons, the state of minority (and therefore of presumed baptismal innocence) continues till the age of twenty-five; and that therefore, till then, confession is not needed. Consequently, Deacons below that age communicate without confession. But as, in case of marriage, minority is then supposed to terminate, confession is required before the celebration of that rite.

"But the real definite mind of the Ethiopic Church seems never to have been fully expressed on the subject: its Priests are not agreed in stating its dogmas: and probably no statement could be made on the matter which would not find opponents in that Communion. Nor, in a country where so much ignorance prevails, need we wonder that even so important a doctrine as that of Confession has never been up to this time canonically elucidated."—Vol. ii. p. 266.

We must hasten through the history of the remaining period, as well under the Mahometan rule, as after the establishment of the Portuguese in the East, and the introduction of Latin missionaries under their influence, in order to come to the most interesting portion of Mr. Neale's volumes, his history of Cyril Lucari. He has succeeded in bringing together a considerable quantity of valuable materials which had escaped the research of previous biographers; and although the sketch of Cyril's character, and of the latter period of his life, presents more decided indications of a partisan spirit, and a greater leaning to the anti-Roman side than any other portion of Mr. Neale's volumes, nevertheless, in a doctrinal point of view, and as an illustration of the faith of the Oriental Church on almost all the questions debated between Catholics and Protestants in the West, it cannot but be regarded as extremely important. As the length to which this article has already run, precludes the possibility of our entering into any controversy on Mr. Neale's statements, we must



confine ourselves to a brief summary of the life of Cyril, and of his attempts to surprise the Eastern Church into an act of fraternization with the Western reformers.

This extraordinary man was born in Candia, in the year 1572. He was connected by blood with Meletius Piga, a distinguished ecclesiastic, and eventually Patriarch of Alexandria. Like most of his countrymen in those days, he was driven by the dearth of educational establishments at home to betake himself to the schools of the West. In his twelfth year he commenced his studies at Venice, whence he afterwards removed to the university of Padua; and on the completion of the ordinary course of studies there, under the tuition of Maximus Margunius, afterwards Bishop of Cythera, he resolved to visit the most famous universities of Europe before his return to the East, with the special purpose, it would seem, of making himself acquainted with the character and doctrinal constitution of the reformed communities of the West. Of the history of these wanderings but little is known, except that they comprised Geneva, Holland, and, it would also appear, England; and that to the influence which they exercised upon his mind is to be attributed the origin, if not the full development, of those Calvinistic principles which he afterwards endeavoured to engraft upon the oriental system.

On his return to Alexandria he was raised to the priesthood, and in a short time afterwards to the office of archimandrite (or abbot) by his relative and patron, Meletius Piga, whom he accompanied to Constantinople about the year 1595. After a residence of about twelve months in this city, he was sent into Lithuania for the purpose of opposing the union of that Church with the See of Rome, which the king, Sigismund III., was labouring to effect. Mr. Neale's account of Cyril's share in these negotiations is far from satisfactory. It is impossible to doubt that, even at this early period, Cyril had given all his affection to the reformed doctrines, and that he entered more warmly into the project of a union with the Lutherans proposed in the Synod of Wilna, than Mr. Neale is disposed to imagine. The only evidence that he was not a reformer at heart, even before his return from his European wanderings, is of a purely negative character.

On the death of Miletius Piga he was, after some opposition, elected to the Patriarchate of Alexandria, and

from this event, (1602,) till his removal to Constantinople, in 1612, in order to take charge of the affairs of that Church, on the deposition of the patriarch Neophytus, but little is known of the particulars of his life; but from this period his protestant leanings became but too apparent. The Dutch minister at the Ottoman court, M. Von Haga, a zealous Calvinist, and an early friend of Cyril, entered warmly into all his plans, and lent all his influence to their furtherance. By his advice Cyril commenced a correspondence with Uytenbogaert, the Calvinist minister at the Hague, which exhibits very clearly the germs of those views which he afterwards fully developed in his celebrated Confession of Faith, and which a letter to Mark Antony de Dominis, (now for the first time published,) proves him to have entertained for many years before he made public profession of them. Disappointed in his hope of being elected Patriarch of Constantinople in 1612, he was obliged, from fear of his successful rival Timothy, formerly bishop of Patras, to retire into Wallachia, whence, after a considerable time, he returned to Egypt; and it is to this period that his celebrated correspondence with archbishop Abbot belongs; a correspondence, however, less interesting in a doctrinal point of view than might be expected from the relative position of the parties.

During the same period commenced his intercourse with M. David le Leu de Wilhem, a Dutch Calvinist of rank, who was then travelling in Egypt. Mr. Neale has given several extracts from their correspondence, which was interrupted by the breaking out of the plague at Cairo. The following is not very creditable to Cyril.

"This was in the early part of the spring of 1619: and we do not see that self-devotion in Cyril which we might have hoped, in the account which he gives us of his behaviour during the continuance of this tremendous judgment.

"'They reckon,' he says, 'up to this day, that four hundred thousand have died; and yet the corners, I might almost say the whole streets, of this vast city are yet full, and it does not seem as if one were wanting. I remained shut up with great danger in my house, and let down from my windows the answers which I had to make to my Christians respecting the dead: and by the Grace of God am safe up to this time.'"—Vol. ii. p. 403.

Soon afterwards the see of Constantinople again became vacant by the death of Timothy, Cyril's former rival.

The government of the see, during its vacancy, devolved upon Cyril, and in November, 1621, he was himself elected Patriarch, "from which time," adds Mr. Neale, "he scarcely knew an hour's peace. He soon began to identify himself openly with the Calvinist heresy, in concert with the Dutch and English ministers at Constantinople. It would carry us far beyond our allotted limits to pursue the fortunes of this remarkable man through all their subsequent vicissitudes—his exiles and recalls, his depositions and reinstatements, the intrigues and counter-intrigues of which he was alternately the accomplice or the victim. Mr. Neale has unhesitatingly adopted the views of the anti-Roman writers, and has given the Jesuits\* credit, in their contest with Cyril, for a degree of depth and inventiveness in intrigue, which may well satisfy their worst antagonists. There is abundant material in his own narrative for a refutation of many of the worst of his insinuations, even were it not all liable to the *prima facie* charge of improbability, on the sole ground of its resting, for the most part, on the authority of the hostile party. But we must be content with stating briefly, that after the publication of his Confession of Faith, in 1633, the opposition which he encountered from the members of his own church became so open and so violent, that measures were taken to procure his deposition. In the helplessly enslaved condition of the Greek Church, such things were of every-day occurrence. Cyril's deposition was effected without difficulty, through the corruption of the Turkish court; and after an abortive attempt on the part of Cyril Contari, bishop of Beræa, to purchase the succession, Anastasius Pattelari, bishop of Thessalonica, at the price of sixty thousand dollars, was appointed in his place. Cyril, however, was, after a short time, restored by the sultan on payment of the still larger price of seventy thousand dollars, and retained possession till the following year, when he was again deposed, to make room for Cyril Contari, the unsuccessful claimant already referred to. During his banishment to Chios, he wrote to M. Leger, the Dutch pastor at Pera, the following letter, which Mr. Neale may

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\* They had obtained permission to establish a college in Constantinople about the beginning of this century, and had been preaching with considerable success before the arrival of Cyril.

well call "profane," and which we cannot resist the temptation of transcribing.

"Most Reverend M. Leger, my most dear brother in CHRIST,—

"Arrived here at Scio, I have found rest, being delivered from the hands of my enemies, as Your Reverence will understand from our most excellent Ambassador, to whom I gave a particular account of everything. Praised be the Divine Providence that He cares for His own, and does not leave them to the end. Many gentlemen of this country, and learned persons, visit me in my lodging, and we dispute, moreover, in a tolerable way. Yesterday, speaking of the Mediator, I learned a fine doctrine of Dr. Coressi's, who said to me that it is quite true that there is one Mediator, JESUS CHRIST; but then, said he, there are other lesser ones who intercede. Thus said Coressi. M. Leger, on my conscience I say with truth, that Coressi and the rest of his adherents are so ignorant, that their arguments and disputations make sensible men sick, and the Jesuits are their dupes; and I am astonished that they do not perceive how void of sense and judgment they are. With all this, the ignorant vulgar think a great deal of Coressi, not for his learning, but because he is a good companion. I found out this in three days after I had been in Scio; and I wish to communicate it to Your Reverence, that you might know with what sort of a person you dispute about that high subject of Transubstantiation, which makes JESUS CHRIST out of a piece of bread or wafer.

"For the rest, Signor Dr. Leger, His Excellency will easily explain to you my condition, both what and how it is. I conclude by sending my respects, and pray the LORD to vouchsafe you every good thing."

"Chios, 4, 14 April, 1635."—Vol. ii. p. 442.

As soon as Cyril of Beræa was in possession of the see, he proceeded to assemble a synod, in which he anathematized Lucari as a Lutheran, and "openly declared his submission to the see of Rome, and his intention of sending Cyril Lucari a prisoner to the Pope." But his power was of short duration; the patriarch's friends again obtained the upper hand; Cyril of Beræa was deposed, and his rival restored to the patriarchate, in August, 1636. The respite, however, was a short one. More fatal measures were still in store for him; his enemies, on a charge of treasonable designs, obtained from the sultan a warrant for his death, in June, 1638.

"The courier arrived at Constantinople on the twenty-seventh of June; and Musa Pasha, the governor of the city, prepared to carry them into execution. But, fearing that the execution of Cyril in

the heart of Constantinople might raise a tumult, the janissaries whom he dispatched were instructed to say, that they were sent to carry the Patriarch on board ship, it being the Sultan's pleasure that he should be sent into exile. Cyril at once submitted; he went that evening on board a boat, expecting to be conveyed to St. Stephano, a small town near Constantinople, where a vessel was said to be waiting for him. But no sooner were they out of sight of land, than, perceiving what their real intention was, he knelt down and prayed earnestly. When he had ceased, after some abuse and a few blows, they put the bowstring about his neck, and having done their work, threw his body into the sea. It was picked up by some fishermen, and returned to his friends, by whom it was buried decently. But the malice of his enemies did not end with his life: they complained to the governor of the city, by whose orders the corpse was disinterred, and again thrown into the sea. Washed on shore by the billows, it was buried in one of the islands in the bay of Nicomedia."—Vol. ii. p. 454.

\* Thus, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his patriarchate, died this remarkable man, after a long series of almost unexampled vicissitudes. It is exceedingly difficult to form a just estimate of such a character as his. Placed from the very commencement of his career in a position at variance, as well with the natural feelings and bias of his mind, as with the doctrinal views which he had been led to embrace in secret, his whole public life was a solemn falsehood. He lived for the public and not for himself. The true elements of his character can only be gathered from the secret correspondences and negotiations in which he was perpetually engaged, and in which alone he gave free scope to his real sentiments; and the records of these negotiations which have been preserved are too scanty, and display too little of the individual man to form the basis of a satisfactory judgment. Mr. Neale, though he does not scruple to regard him as a heretic, deals far more tenderly with his memory than we should have thought possible in an orthodox high-churchman. The secret, perhaps, is, that Cyril, whatever may have been his heresies, was at all events an inveterate anti-Roman; however false his principles of Church authority, he was at least a stern defender of the "branch-church" theory; he would willingly have plunged his Church into all the doctrinal confusion, and uncertainty, and contradiction, which has fallen upon the Anglican Church, rather than consent, on any terms, to a union with Rome. Perhaps, too, as Mr. Neale reviewed his

conduct, some parallel with existing things unconsciously presented itself to his mind, and disarmed the rigour of the judgment which his orthodoxy would have suggested. We cannot venture to explain the apparent inconsistency; but this we know full well, that any unhappy dissenter, still more any misguided low-churchman, who might have come under Mr. Neale's theological censorship, with the same amount of Calvinism, Puritanism, and indeed, absolute Latitudinarianism upon his head, that is disclosed, even by the published letters of Cyril, would have met with a very different, and much less merciful, measure of justice at his hands.

Mr. Neale seeks to palliate Cyril's heresy on the ground that there had not been any opinion expressed in the Greek Church before his time, on the questions at issue between the rival Churches of the West. This may be literally true, in the sense that, since the Reformation, no synod had been formally convened to decide upon them. But the doctrine of the Greek Church was as fixed and certain—what is more, it was as well known to Cyril, as if its opinions had been recorded in the decrees of a council. Mr. Neale need hardly be reminded of the repeated declarations of the councils which were called forth by this daring attempt of Cyril. We shall transcribe from his own pages a few of the anathemas of the council of Constantinople, held in 1638, only a few months after the death of Cyril.

“‘To Cyril teaching in his eighth article, obscurely indeed and craftily, and believing that the Saints are not our Mediators and Intercessors with God: (they quote the passage) as subverting many oracles of the HOLY GHOST:—Anathema. For God saith, ‘I will protect this city for the sake of David My Servant.’ And the Holy Children in the furnace, ‘give us not utterly over for the sake of Abraham Thy Beloved, and Isaac Thy Servant, and Israel Thy Saint.’ And Peter saith, ‘Moreover I will endeavour, after my decease, that ye may be able to have these things continually in remembrance.’ But how could he endeavour after his decease, except by interceding and praying to God?’ They conclude by quoting the second Council of Nicæa.

“‘To Cyril, who teaches and believes that man is not endued with free-will, as is clear from his fourteenth Article; but that every man has the power of sinning, but not the power of doing good: as the destroyer of Gospels and Prophets, (where it is written, ‘If ye choose and will hear Me:’ ‘Draw near to Him, and be enlight-



ened ; ' He that *will* come after Me : ' ' Come unto Me all : '—add also the frequent exhortations to do good ;) Anathema.'

" 'To Cyril, who teaches and believes that there are not seven Sacraments,'—they name them,—' according to the disposition of CHRIST, the tradition of the Apostles, and the customs of the Church, but falsely asserting that only two were by CHRIST in His Gospel handed down to us, that is to say, Baptism and the Eucharist, as may be seen in his fifteenth Article ;—Anathema.'

" 'To Cyril, who teaches and believes that the Bread offered at the Altar, and also the Wine, is not changed, by the Blessing of the Priest, and Descent of the HOLY GHOST, into the Real Body and Blood of CHRIST ; (they quote his seventeenth Article ;) Anathema.' They support this by S. John vii. 53, 56. S. Matt. xvi. 27, 28. 1 Cor. xii. 23, 45 : and by the Canons of the seventh Œcumenical Synod.

" 'To Cyril, who teaches and believes, though secretly, in his eighteenth Article, that those who have fallen asleep in piety and penitence, are not, after death, assisted by the alms of their relations, and the prayers of the Church, as the denier of the happy rest of the just, the absolute perdition of the wicked, and the future judgment and retribution in the last and terrible day ; which is most opposite to the Holy Scripture, and the teaching of all Divines ;—Anathema.'

" 'To Cyril a new Iconoclast, and the worst of all ;—Anathema.' The two succeeding anathemas are merely an amplification of the last : and the two last a recapitulation and enforcement of the whole.

" Whatever may be thought of many of these anathemas, and of the unfair spirit which all exhibit to Cyril, this is, doubtless, a very important Council : and certainly may be called a general Synod of the Greek Church, receiving, as it does, additional authority from its subsequent confirmation by the Council of Jerusalem.

" It is signed by three Patriarchs : Cyril of Constantinople ; Metrophanes of Alexandria ; Theophanes of Jerusalem. The Church of Antioch, it would seem, was at this time in some confusion, from the Latinising tendencies of Euthymius II. which may be the reason that he did not subscribe to the above anathemas. Joasaph, Patriarch of Moscow, was much averse from all contentions : and probably was glad to remain quiet.

" In addition, it is signed by twenty-four Archbishops and Bishops, three of whom were afterwards Patriarchs of Constantinople : namely, Parthenius the elder, then of Adrianople ; Parthenius the younger, then of Joannine ; Joannicius of Heraclea : two were Patriarchs of Alexandria ; namely, Joannicius of Beræa, and Joachim of Cos. And lastly, it is subscribed by twenty-one dignitaries of the great church of Constantinople ; of whom one, Nicholas Clarontzanes, was afterwards Patriarch of Alexandria. Thus then, these anathemas are pronounced by nine, who, either then or afterwards, were Patriarchs : a greater number, probably, than ever subscribed to any other Synod.

"It is necessary to notice this fact, because the Calvinists, irritated at the failure of the hopes which they had conceived from Cyril Lucar, are loud in their assertions that this Council is by no means an exponent of the mind of the Greek Church, and furious in their outcry against the principal Prelates who composed it. It is true, that we cannot think highly of many of them; it is also true, that the testimony of Cyril of Beræa goes for nothing, because he was notorious for his Latinising principles: but the other Bishops and Ecclesiastics are unexceptionable testimonies against Calvinism, the rather, that one of them, Parthenius, was suspected of it."—Vol. ii. pp. 459, 461.

If it could for a moment be supposed, that on a subject in which all their prejudices and prepossessions would have led them to adopt the anti-Roman views, so numerous an assembly would, without hesitation, and without division, have confirmed so decidedly and so explicitly the judgment of the Roman Church in every point under dispute, unless these were the received and unquestioned doctrines of the Greek Church which they represented, all possibility of further doubt is removed by the proceedings of the numerous councils which followed in the same course. Another synod held at Constantinople, in 1641, renewed the decisions of that referred to above, and even formally embodied the so-called Latin doctrine of Transubstantiation in the article on the Eucharist, under the name *μετεσώσις*. A still more numerous council, held at Jassy, in 1642, repeated the same declarations. Its acts were signed by the patriarch Parthenius, and twenty other bishops, besides a very numerous body of the inferior clergy. And the whole question was set at rest for ever by the synod of Bethlehem, in 1672, which renewed the definition of *μετεσώσις*, and, what is perhaps of equal practical importance, formally declared the canonicity of the disputed deutero-canonical books of Scripture.

After the death of Cyril Lucari, and the termination of the controversies to which his apostacy gave occasion, the annals of the Eastern Church have but little interest; and, indeed, Mr. Neale has comprised within a very few pages all the facts which he was enabled to collect. There are many interesting questions, however, which suggest themselves at almost every point of the history, and especially the supposed parallelisms of the Anglican and the Oriental system, on which high-church writers place so much reliance. We cannot but suppose that some portion, at

least, of the promised Introduction, will be devoted to these important questions, and, therefore, we shall defer all further observations on the subject till we shall have an opportunity of examining the expected volume.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*The Life of St. Alphonso Maria de Liguori, Bishop of St. Agatha of the Goths.* Vol. i. Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby, 1848.

THE volume now before us, although the fifth of the "Lives of the Canonized Saints," contains but the first part of the Life of St. Alphonso, and carries the history only as far as the close of the year 1748. We shall therefore reserve our notice of the life itself till the publication of the concluding volume. For the present we shall find abundant occupation in the admirable Essay on Beatification and Canonization, which is prefixed to the life of St. Liguori.

The volumes of the series which have already been published may, we presume, be regarded as an example of the entire. They represent exactly the spirit in which all the rest are conceived, and the principles upon which they are drawn up. There is no attempt in them to adapt the narrative to what had hitherto been believed to be the peculiar circumstances in which Catholicity is placed in this country; no idea of avoiding those topics or statements which are admitted to be inoffensive and even edifying to Catholics, but which are likely to wound the prejudices of "those who are without;" neither is there that perpetual sensitiveness which ordinarily distinguished English writers upon such subjects, and that tendency to apologize and explain away every thing which departed from the received standard of inoffensive orthodoxy. The principle, in a word, which has been followed, is to select from among the various lives of each saint in use among continental Catholics, that which appeared to be most popular, as well as most authentic, and to present it to the English reader, Protestant as well as Catholic, without alteration, without modification, and without apology.

The project, no doubt, has disadvantages as well as advantages; and as the latter are almost sure to receive the most prominent, if not the greatest share, of attention, it has been freely criticized, so far as it has yet developed itself. Of the volumes already published, the *Life of St. Philip Neri* has come in for the largest share of animadversion, but, of course, the same principles, in different degrees, will apply in almost every instance. The *Essay on Beatification* appears to be intended to meet the exceptions thus taken to the principles which pervade the series. It is not, as might at first sight be supposed, a formal, and as it were, a technical treatise upon the process of Canonization, and the principles by which it is directed. It is rather a popular essay on the true principles of the science of Hagiology, illustrated by constant reference to the actual process which the Church has followed in the judicial enquiries and investigations by which, as human instruments of research, she arrives at the facts upon which her judgment is made to rest. It is written in a most temperate, calm, and scholarlike tone, and while it places the authority of the decisions of the Church on such subjects, upon that basis which only Catholics can fully and cordially appreciate, the arguments by which it seeks to enforce these views are such as cannot fail to influence every reader, no matter how low the principles on which he judges, and how completely he may reduce the investigation to a mere matter of scholarship and criticism. We have read this essay with exceeding pleasure, and we do not hesitate to place it, as a specimen of masterly criticism, in the same rank with Mr. Newman's *Essay on Ecclesiastical Miracles*, prefixed to the translation of Fleury.

We shall not attempt to offer any thing in the shape of an analysis of this able essay. It will, perhaps, be more interesting, and it will certainly be more fair to the authors of these interesting lives, to allow them an opportunity of explaining their own views on those characteristics of the Lives to which exception has chiefly been taken; viz., the freedom with which they expatiate upon the miraculous powers of the Saints, and on what may be called their eccentricities and peculiarities.

"In opening the Lives of these men there are two things especially which strike us. First, the constant, and in some instances, as in that of St. Joseph of Cupertino, almost unconscious exercise of miraculous powers, the occurrence of raptures, visions, bodily transformations, power over demons, the intermingling of the visible and

invisible worlds, the reading of the secrets of the heart, the gift of bilocation, as it is called, and the like : these seem to surround the servant of God like an atmosphere, so that we have at first some little difficulty in getting at his common character. He seems to belong to a different order from ourselves ; we have by an effort to strip him of his miraculous powers and gifts *gratis data*, in order to discern between the admirable and the imitable. These marvels are to some quite unedifying, nay, almost shock and startle them ; in others, as in St. Francis of Sales already quoted, they breed a more intense love of God, a much livelier apprehension of the mysteries of the faith, a generous contempt of the world and its little politics, a holy indifference to calumny and wrong, and a more efficacious desire to nerve themselves up for penance and the hard practices of interior mortification and the stony ascents of Christian perfection. Whether the fault is in the marvels for *giving* people disedification, or people are in fault for *taking* disedification from them, anyhow there the marvels are ; and we are now only dealing with facts as we find them.

“The second thing we observe in the Lives of these servants of God, is a most extensive class of actions, totally opposed to the *common* rules of human prudence, and even repugnant to the prejudices of flesh and blood, as savouring of childishness, or indiscretion, or a want of sobriety or moderation, or as simply capricious. We may take as example St. Francis Borgia, allowing his face to be spit upon all night ; St. Peter Martyr letting himself be imprisoned and remain for three years under a scandalous charge of impurity, which he might have dispelled by a word ; St. John of God feigning himself mad ; St. Philip Neri playing the fool, as men would call it, in front of Chiesa Nuova, or reading light books to give foreigners a low opinion of him ; Saints Marina and Theodora disguising themselves as men, and afterwards allowing children to be fathered on them without discovering the imposture ; Brother Juniper, the Franciscan, permitting himself to be taken to the gibbet as a murderer, and only delivered by a singular intervention of Providence. These are specimens of the kind of actions alluded to, and instances might be almost infinitely multiplied. Now it must be borne in mind that we are not apologizing for these actions, still less holding them up as imitable ; the latter proceeding would be indiscreet, the former impertinent ; we are only noting the fact, that they occur abundantly, and so far as we have seen, in *every* Life of the servants of God whose causes have come before the Congregation of Rites. It is simply to the undeniable and significant *fact* that we desire to call attention at present.

“Furthermore, it must be remembered, that these extraordinary actions, seemingly so opposed to the dictates of prudence, are by no means easily or lightly admitted by the Sacred Congregation in the causes of beatification and canonization. To refer them to a special instinct of the Holy Ghost, is not a mere invention of idle-

ness or a refuge of uncritical credulity. On the contrary, they are submitted to a most rigid examination ; causes are often delayed because of them, and a discussion takes place on the practice of the cardinal virtue of prudence as exhibited by the servant of God whose cause is under consideration. Thus, when Canon Zanotti, misled by the spurious acts of St. Proculus, the patron of Bologna, referred his alleged homicide of Marinus to a special instinct of the Holy Ghost, Benedict XIV., in showing the spuriousness of the acts, speaks very strongly of the duty of trying every other method of explanation, before the known sanctity of a Saint induces us to refer any of his extraordinary actions to a special instinct of the Holy Ghost."—p. 26—29.

And again,—

"We read in the Lives of the Saints of plans and actions which offend many even pious readers : they disapprove of them in themselves, they disapprove still more of their being held up either to the admiration or imitation of the faithful. Now if when the Saints themselves were alive, redolent with the odour of their sanctity, the vividness of their bright example and the solemn authentication of their frequent miracles fresh upon them and around them—if at that time there was almost a general disapprobation of their plans and modes of action, as in the case of St. Alphonso Liguori, when he founded his Congregation, if, as again St. Alphonso was, they were left persisting in a kind of proud-looking isolation, if even popes and bishops were against them, and they gave way only to the pressure of actual command, if the pious were scandalized, and the holy Inquisition interfered, if calumny seemed for the while truth, and truth hypocrisy, if these wonderful men also went so far as to consider this opposition and offence the best proof they could have that their work was the will of God, as St. Philip Neri and our good bishop Challoner are said often to have refused to join in a work because it was not opposed by good kind of men, if all this took place where they were personally concerned, must not something of the same sort be always expected towards their Lives, especially if those Lives be faithful and minute? And will not this easily account for the diversity of opinion and the somewhat offended temper of objection which Saints' Lives have generally elicited? What the unkindly world and the remaining worldliness in the ordinary faithful, found so uncongenial in the living Saints, will still be uncongenial in their Lives; although of course, in the case of Catholics, the intervention of the Church and the honours she has decreed to the Saint, will soften and diminish this, and will naturally make criticism less positive and more modest.

"Yet after all the fact remains: these are just the cases in which there *has been* this intervention of the Church; it is exactly these



men and men like them whom the Church has singled out with her unerring instinct for canonization ; men who have had to confront this opposition, jealousy, thwarting, and suspicion of the good, and who have passed through the terrific ordeal of this heart-breaking persecution ; and this fact, without pushing it even as far as we might, will be found most difficult of explanation on any hypothesis of adversaries, and yet most imperiously requires one at their hands."—Vol. i. 39, 40.

It would be idle to add a word to this clear and honest explanation. Let the Lives be judged by these principles ; and we shall have little fear of the judgment which will be passed. On that part of the process followed in the enquiry, which regards the virtues of the saint, we must venture upon a still longer extract.

"In the causes of cardinals special attention is paid to their obedience, frugality, residence, care of their titular Church, sincerity and boldness in counselling the pope, and cheerful submission when he has decreed contrary to their advice. Thus Baronius, when cardinal, lived as plainly as when he was a simple Oratorian ; and the same may be said of the frugality and modesty of the Venerable Bellarmine and the B. Tommasi. Cardinal Bessarion affords an illustrious example of freedom in counselling the pope, and every one will remember the well-known courage of St. Pius V. when he was cardinal. But it was actually a matter to be considered by the Congregation whether the Venerable Cardinal Ximenes had not offended by excess from his having once said, perhaps in joke, that the pope ought to have a '*bit of a frightening*' now and then. The conduct of cardinals in their legations is also a subject of most jealous scrutiny when their causes come before the Congregation.

"An equally minute inquiry is instituted into the manner in which bishops have discharged their episcopal duties. An eminent spiritual writer has remarked, that the elevation to the episcopate has in most instances been found to be the cause of relaxed strictness and mortification ; this therefore is inquired into. But one example will be enough to show to what details the scrutiny descends. The zeal of the apostles in giving confirmation as soon as they heard of the conversion of Samaria, is looked upon as laying a kind of precept upon bishops ; and it is inquired whether the servant of God has been distinguished by a zeal for that sacrament of which he is the ordinary minister, and special mention is made of this in the bull of St. Turibius's canonization, and it is also related of St. Wilfrid by Eddi Stephanus, his biographer. The conferring of orders, the granting of faculties to confessors, the care of ecclesiastical seminaries, the government of nuns, reverence to the Holy See, conduct towards secular princes and noblemen,

giving of patronage, expenditure of revenues, all these are jealously examined. For example, in the cause of the Venerable Cardinal Ximenes the promoter of the faith objected, that through his exertions several of his relations had married into high families, and that he had given them ample dowries; and in the cause of the Venerable Card. Bellarmine it was objected, that he had given pensions to poor relations.

"Thus it is in the cause of religious from their vocation to their death, even to the making of their wills, if they had been elevated to the episcopate, and had had a dispensation to make a will, as in the case of the B. Alexander Sauli, the Barnabite; thus also is it with kings, noblemen, and laymen of whatever rank, from him who wore the crown of the holy Roman empire down to the Loreto-going beggar, Benedict Joseph. This may be seen from the Acts of St. Wenceslaus of Bohemia, Henry the emperor, Edward of England, Leopold of Austria, Louis of France, Amadeus III. of Savoy, Casimir of Poland, and the good St. Elzear of Subrano. The justice and moderation of their wars form no slight difficulty in causes of this latter kind. Thus it is also with virgins, widows, and married persons. In all cases the inquiry is most rigid and minute. Even the circumstances of the death-bed are always jealously examined, as if it were the touchstone of final perseverance. Sudden deaths may sometimes impede the advancement of a cause, as rendering the proof of final perseverance incomplete; then indirect and proximate evidence is carefully looked for, as in the case of St. Andrew Avellino and the B. Colette; or miracles immediately afterwards, as in the case of B. Jordan, the general of the Dominicans. Scacchus tells us that the words with which the dying servants of God recommend their soul to Him must be weighed. When Benedict XIV. was promoter of the faith, he objected to the words a servant of God had used on his death-bed about utter trust in God, seeming to exclude the notion of good works and to contravene the decisions of Trent. In like manner objection was taken to Cardinal Paul Buralis of Arezzo having administered the Viaticum to himself with his own hand, when it was brought him—a singularity contrary to the custom of the modern Church. But Cardinal de Lugo shows that the consent of the priest who brought the Blessed Sacrament excludes all fault in the matter. St. Dominic mentioned things to his own praise on his death-bed, whereas St. John of the Cross would not allow such things to be named in his presence. St. Martin and St. Thomas of Villanova were willing their lives should be prolonged for the good of others; St. Philip Neri and St. Francis of Sales quite rejected the idea. St. Francesca Romana was noted for having a death-bed without temptations, whereas other saints have died overclouded, as it were, with a shadow of God's judgments, while St. Romuald, St. John of God, St. Cassian of Narni, died without witness of man. F. Consolini the Oratorian, like Card. Bellarmine,

seems to have prayed that he might not have the use of his reason on his death-bed, that he might thus avoid being treated like a saint and receiving visits of honour from distinguished personages. This was indeed the dictate of humility, but it also implies a confidence and spirit of abandonment which it makes one quite tremble to think of. To read the account of St. Andrew Avellino's death-bed, who would have supposed that from the loss of speech to explain his temptations, it should actually have presented difficulties to the Congregation of Rites? A Saint himself, St. Alphonso Liguori, thus relates it: 'They say of St. Andrew Avellino that at the time of his death there came ten thousand demons to tempt him. During his agony he had so fierce a conflict with hell that all his good religious who were by trembled with fear. They saw the Saint's agitated face all swollen, that it became quite black; his limbs quivered, and beat one against another as in the palsy; floods of tears flowed from his eyes; his head shook violently; all signs of the horrible battle in which he was engaged. Every one wept with compassion, redoubled their prayers for him, and yet trembled with fear to see that even a Saint should have to die thus. They consoled themselves however in seeing that the Saint often threw his eyes round, as if looking for some one to help him, and fixed them on a devout picture of our Lady, and they remembered that he had often said in his lifetime, that Mary would have to be his refuge in the hour of death. At length it pleased God that the conflict should end in the glorious victory of his servant: the quivering of his body ceased, the swelling of his face went down and its natural colour returned; they saw him fix his eyes tranquilly upon the picture, and making a reverent inclination to it, as though Mary, as was believed, appeared to him at the moment, and he intended to thank her for her aid, he breathed out his soul gently into our Lady's arms with a smile of Paradise upon his face. At the very moment a Capuchiness, also lying in her agony, turned to the nuns by her bed, and said, 'Say a Hail Mary, for at this moment a Saint has died.\* Yet it was about this death-bed that the cool judgment and safe acuteness of the Congregation found room for doubt and hesitation; what confidence may we not have in processes which carry with them the weight of such an approbation?'—page 52—57.

Well, therefore, may Mr. Faber conclude from these and the other details of the process.

"Indeed, putting out of view all idea of divine assistance, and looking at the matter simply as a question of evidence, it is hardly possible to conceive any process for sifting human testimony more complete, more ingenious, or more rigid than the one scrupulously adhered to by the Congregation of Rites in this respect. Much

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\* *Glorie di Maria*, i. 94, 95.

depends on the decision, and there is no necessity for coming to a decision at all; these two things are continually before the eyes of the judges, and render the ordeal one of almost incredible strictness. No one can study the great work of Benedict XIV. on Canonization, or peruse the decrees of Urban VIII. and Clement XI. without feeling the utmost confidence in any narrative of facts, however supernatural, which comes out of the trial confirmed and approved upon the whole: and we are now merely speaking of it as a question of human testimony which has come out undestroyed from the long, intricate, and jealous cross-questioning of a most ingeniously contrived system of cavil and objection. A fact only requires the appearance of being supernatural to awaken against it every suspicion; every method of surprise and detection is at once in array against it; it is allowed no mercy, no advantage of a doubt, and any thing rather than the benefit of clergy. All this really gives to Lives of Saints drawn from the processes a trustworthiness which scarcely any other historical or biographical works can possess; and enables them to claim from the reader at the very least a *general* confidence which he can hardly give to any other narrative of facts in the world. Let any one look at the way in which miracles are dealt with in the Congregation, their accurate division into three classes, the necessity of what is called *instantaneity* in order to distinguish a miracle from a *gratia*, the length of time required to prove the absence of relapse, which was thirteen years in the case of a nun cured of epilepsy by the Blessed Hyacintha Marescotti, and is extremely long in hydrophobia and some other complaints, the interrogatories, the requisites in witnesses, the presence of the first physicians of Italy and their opinions in writing, and sundry other precautions. Many a candid Protestant would be surprised, if he only took the trouble to peruse a few of the processes of the Congregation in matters of beatification and canonization."—page 63, 64.

We wish we could find room for a few extracts from his observations on the nature and authoritativeness of the decrees of the Church in the beatification and canonization of Saints. It is written with great learning and accuracy, and is well worthy of an attentive perusal.

We must content ourselves, however, with the following significant and practical observations, in the justice and hopefulness of which we fully concur.

"Many years ago the late Mr. Southey mentioned to the writer of this Essay, that when he had safely housed his fine copy of the Bolandists in his library, he set to work to read it through. This feat he accomplished by putting a card at the top of a column, and drawing it rather rapidly down, his quick eye following the receding card, and if it lighted on any word that was a sign-post to some-

thing of interest, he looked into the passage ; if not, he sped on ; and he said that the result of the whole voluminous collection was only the matter for All for Love and the Pilgrimage to Compostella, a very attenuated duodecimo brochure of sparsely printed verse ! Every one who knew Mr. Southey's studious habits will easily take this for a conversational exaggeration ; yet it serves to illustrate the different value we set on things according to our positions. The object of this Essay is to put a very different price upon the Lives and Legends of the Saints ; such a value as one would put, who, with faith in St. Philip's method had used the narration of Saints' Lives as a weapon of missionary warfare, and had seen, not the breathless interest only, or the ready tear of peasant crowds, but the abiding influence for good, the heightened love of God, and the more persevering pursuit of virtue. If it is a problem to some, who have to deal with converts of the lower orders, how to destroy in them the lingering sympathies with dissent, and the sectarian humours only superficially catholicized, and to give them the tone and feeling of children of the Church, let missionaries try the recitation of the Lives of Saints, after the fashion of the Oratory, in lieu of sermons, not too frequently, but as the feasts furnish occasions : Let them relate the acts of St. Cecilia, St. Agnes, St. Martina, and those early Saints, whose blood made Rome, our holy city, the Jerusalem of Catholics, or let them tell the stories of some of our own principal Saints, such as St. Winefride, St. Ebba of Coldingham, St. Wilfrid, and St. Edmund of Canterbury, so as to give them sympathies with their own native land as it was beneath the sweet and blessed yoke of faith ; and by the grace of God and the good offices of the Saints, they will see how quickly a catholic mind will be formed in their people, and how successfully the debasing alloy of old Protestant ideas will be drawn off from them. If we have succeeded in drawing out as strongly as we might have done, how *imitation* is the grand, if not the sole aim, of the Church in canonization, we may add that it does not at all appear how that end can be adequately answered except through Lives of Saints. The recitation of the divine office is confined to clergy and religious, and even if it were not so, the beautifully and admirably compressed lections are more suited to quicken the memory than to inform it. It certainly does seem as though the Church would fail in accomplishing the object of canonization, were it not for that huge body of literature which we call hagiology."—pp. 137—139.

We may add in conclusion, that the Editors announce, as preparing for publication, a translation of Benedict XIV. *On Heroic Virtue*, one of the most valuable portions, at least in a practical point of view, of his great work *De Beatificatione*.

II.—*History of the Bank of England ; its Times and Traditions.* By JOHN FRANCIS. 2 vols. Third Edition. London : Willoughby and Co., 22, Warwick Lane, 1848.

WE have been acquainted, since its first appearance before the public, with the merits of this work, which we are happy to perceive has now reached a third edition. We had felt, before we were aware that Mr. Francis had devoted himself to the task, the necessity for such a book ; because without it we could discover no clue to those wondrous events in our annals, in which will be found involved the wealth or the poverty, the prosperity or the adversity of myriads of individuals. It is strange that the wealthiest country in the world should be, until the last few years, without a history of that establishment with which the oldest or the youngest amongst us identifies the solid and material wealth—the tangible and actual currency of the country. It is well, perhaps, that a task so important should have been deferred until it fell into the hands of Mr. Francis—a gentleman who has not only a profound and practical knowledge on the subject of which he treats, but who looks at it with the eye of a man of the world. Whilst giving all the details that the most laborious political economist could desire, the author contrives at the same time to let pass no fact connected with his subject which may serve to awaken interest in the men or the events of the Bank of England. Had Mr. Francis confined himself to a mere dry narrative of facts, his book would be useful ; but as he has done something more—as he describes events clearly, and portrays characters boldly and truly, he justly merits the name of an historian, forcing his readers to think, and compelling them to arrive at just conclusions.

Mr. Francis, in his two volumes, shows these several points clearly : how our banking system has arisen—how we came to have a national bank—how that bank has been guided and conducted during the most eventful periods—and, lastly, how its internal affairs are arranged. Upon all these points, and each of them requires a careful study, nothing was either very clearly or distinctly known by the great body of the public. There seemed to be nothing more to be told of them, except what might be gleaned from the stray, broken, and unsatisfactory allusions to be found in Smith, or Sinclair, or M'Culloch.



No one seemed to dream that the Bank had a history of its own; that amid its heaps of gold, and piles of silver, and packages of notes, there might not be heroes and villains as in the wildest old fortress that topples on the rock over the swift-flowing waters of the Rhine. Mr. Francis has shown that there is a romance in the history of the Bank of England, as there is a romance in every true history; and in so treating his subject, he has given a book that is valuable to the old, and will be found, strange as this may sound, charming to the young, winning them to the acquisition of knowledge, and imparting that knowledge in the plainest, simplest, and most agreeable style. The industry in collecting details is equalled by the skill with which they are arranged; and the result is a work which must secure a place in every statistical library, because a book that merits not merely perusal, but constant reference.

III.—*The Anima Divota, or Devout Soul*. Newly translated from the Italian of the Very Rev. J. B. PAGANI, Provincial of the Order of Charity in England. Permissu Superiorum. London: Thomas Richardson and Son, 1848.

NOTHING can be more elegant and fluent than the English of this translation, which has received the sanction of the author. Of the merits of the work itself it would be now superfluous to say anything,—it is universally known and appreciated; and we rejoice in the appearance of this cheap and excellent edition.

IV.—*Via Dolorosa; being the Catholic Devotion of the Stations, Prepared as a Special Office for the Use of English People, with Reference to the Sins, the Responsibilities, and the Portents of these Times*. Translated and arranged by the Author of "From Oxford to Rome," "Rest in the Church," &c. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848.

THIS work is from the pen of a lady, of whom, for her own sake, we had hoped to have heard no more for some time to come. Chiefly known to the public by the pretentious vacillation of her religious opinions, by the absence of all truth in her attack upon Catholics who had so recently received her as a fellow member of the Church, and of all sincerity in her subsequent retraction of that in-

sult—which, by the way, she would seem in her title-page to re-adopt)—it might have been supposed she would have found enough to do for the present to fix her religious faith, and perform her devotions in private. She has, however, thought otherwise. Filled with alarm, respecting “Sins, responsibilities, and portents,” and boasting herself (with a Germanized sublimity, too indefinite for our taste) to be “instructed to listen for the whispers of another world, within the clamour of the questions of the day,” she has taken upon her to recommend the organization of small confraternities—a sort of “moral police,” as she tells us—to whom she “suggests” the use of this devotion which she has prepared for them, and whereby they are to “defend our England.” It is a compilation from Catholic prayer-books, from the English liturgy, from “our good Bishop Wilson,” and other Protestant writers, and from various books of poetry, arranged after the lady’s own fashion. Those who have access to the sources from which she has drawn all that is worth having in the book, will not consider the extracts the more valuable from this circumstance.

V.—*English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds.* Four Letters from Ireland, addressed to an English Member of Parliament. By AUBREY DE VERE. Second Edition. London: John Murray, 1848.

THIS is indeed a statement of Ireland’s grievances which an Englishman must read with deep pain, and of which an Irishman need not feel ashamed; keen, polished, and severe in style, without a word of false or vulgar invective, the arguments are unanswerable—the facts, alas! too true. We must be excused from entering at all upon the painful subject, further than to express our hope and prayer that, laying aside recrimination, right-minded men of both countries may unite with head and heart and hand to repair the sin and mischief of the past.

VI.—*The Oratory of the Faithful Soul; or, Devotions to the Most Holy Sacrament, and to our Blessed Lady.* Translated from the works of the Venerable Abbot BLOSIUS, by ROBERT ASTON COFFIN, Priest of the Oratory. London: Richardson and Son, 1848.

THESE devotions to our Blessed Saviour are divided into two series, each of which consists of a prayer or address for the morning and evening of every day in the

week. In the first series He is addressed in the Blessed Sacrament, and the chief incidents of His life and passion commemorated, with suitable ejaculations of love, self-exhortation, and prayer. They are highly devotional; but we were more struck with the second series, in which no plan of devotion is followed, but rather an out-pouring of fervent love, so intense and so elevated, as carries the reader away with it. The devotion to our Blessed Lady is upon the same plan as the first series, commemorating successively her chief claims upon our love. The Reverend translator highly and justly praises the manner in which, throughout these effusions of unspeakable love and veneration, the true Catholic distinction is preserved betwixt the feeling for the Mother and the Son. These admirable devotions have already appeared in Mr. Ambrose Philipps's "Catholic Manual," but we are rejoiced to see them in this cheaper and more accessible form.

VII.—1. *The Ecclesiastical Choir-Book: a Selection of Motetts, Hymns, and Masses, from the great Masters of the Sixteenth Century; with an Organ Accompaniment.* Folio. London: Burns, 1848.

2.—*A Few Words on Church Music, in reference to Plain Chant and Ecclesiastical Harmony.* London: Burns, 1848.

THOSE who recollect our unvarying profession of faith on the subject of Church Music, from our very first number to the present day, will hardly need to be told that we regard this noble collection as an inestimable accession to our stock of ecclesiastical music. While we have ever, on the one hand, maintained the duty of employing the Gregorian Chant as the staple of our choral worship, and, on the other, reprobated, in the strongest terms, the use, no matter how modified, of light or theatrical modern music, we have, nevertheless, at all times contended for an admixture of that best and purest style of harmonized music, which, while it relieves the severity, and, as it were, covers the nakedness, of the Gregorian Chant, yet preserves all, or nearly all, its solemn character and the deep, though it may be joyous, religious feeling which is inseparable from true ecclesiastical harmony.

Most of the objections to the use of harmonized music in churches, arises from the injudicious selection of the pieces which are introduced. The truth is, that, until recently, musicians, in many cases, had but little opportunity of

selection. The character of the music ordinarily within reach in this country, is, as a general rule, such as we should never desire to hear within the walls of a church; and, unless the singers exercised a discretion of which but very few indeed can be regarded as capable, the choice could hardly fail to be an unhappy one.

Between the two extremes there is a medium which requires but to be known in order to be appreciated.

"Much," says the author of the excellent pamphlet, which is second on our list, "as we may wish for a return to a graver and better style of musical service, any extreme re-action is to be deprecated. If we seem to need reform as much as the church did in the time of Pope Marcellus (according to the common story,) we at least can have no difficulty in finding proper music to substitute for that which we wish to displace;—we have that, in fact, which the church, after maturely considering the whole subject, then permitted her children to use. The majestic and truly religious style which Palestrina and his contemporaries brought to such perfection, still remains to us as fresh and living as when it first burst upon the delighted ears of one who exclaimed, in a rapture of religious joy, 'This is like the harmony which the apostle John heard in the heavenly Jerusalem, and of which another John Palestrina gives us a foretaste in the Jerusalem of our Pilgrimage!' We have, in the writings of these musicians, and especially of the wonderful man of whom the above was spoken, an ample store of harmonized compositions, which supply us with everything that can be desired for the worthy celebration of the divine offices of the church. Other ecclesiastical musicians may arise, new styles of music even may be invented, which shall also commend themselves, by their fitness, for the church's use; but until the world sees a better, we may well content ourselves with the style of the sublime productions of the great masters of the sixteenth century. We may depend upon it, it is one which will never pall upon our ears. The more we hear and practise it, the more enamoured of it (if I may use the word) shall we become. The style of Palestrina and Vittoria furnishes us with the true ideal of harmonized music for the sanctuary, and to it we must unquestionably give the first place; and the more composers write in this style, the better fitted will their productions be for the use of the Church."

Mr. Burns's collection consists exclusively of the works of the great composers alluded to in this passage, and of their contemporaries and imitators, Nanino, Anerio, Di Lasso Marenzio, and Morales. Among these the pieces of Palestrina are by far the most numerous, those of Vittoria are next in point of number, and Di Lasso Maren-

zio, Morales, and Anerio are represented each by a single specimen. The volume contains nearly three hundred closely printed pages of music, and is executed with great taste, accuracy, and elegance. We trust that it will meet, among our convents, colleges, and principal churches, as well as in private musical circles, that encouragement which so enterprising an attempt well deserves.

VIII.—*Lectures on the General Evidences of Catholicity.* By M. J. SPALDING, D.D. Louisville: Webb, 1848.

DR. SPALDING'S name needs no introduction at our hands. His reputation as an able and learned controversialist is well established, even at this side of the Atlantic, and we welcome, as a valuable accession to our popular controversial literature, the Lectures which are now before us. They are of a purely popular character; as will, indeed, at once be understood from the fact of their having, with the exception of two, been delivered in the cathedral of Louisville, to a mixed congregation. But the circumstance of their being drawn up in a popular style is, perhaps, in the present circumstances of this country, one of their best recommendations. They address themselves to the mass of enquirers, without distinction of church or party; and the recent movement in the Anglican church has so exclusively fixed the attention of our controversialists upon the High-church theories and principles, that we are glad to find a writer, even on the American continent, resume the controversy once again upon principles accommodated to every class of enquirers.

The plan of these excellent Lectures may be briefly explained to be an application to Catholicity, in particular, of the various evidences by which the truth of general christianity is demonstrated. They are thirteen in number, and are arranged according to the order of the evidences. We would refer especially to the ninth, as a specimen of the vigour and eloquence, as well as learning, which distinguish them all; and to the concluding lecture as a beautiful example of clear and solid reasoning, as well as of bold and comprehensive views, and orderly and lucid arrangement of the subject. We trust that we may anticipate an early reprint of these Lectures for circulation in these countries.

# INDEX TO VOLUME TWENTY-FOUR.

*Abbey of Altenberg*, mode of choosing its site, 112  
*Alexander*, son of Philip, 297.  
*Alexandria*, Jacobite patriarch of, 500—mode of electing him, 501, 502.  
*Alexandria*, Patriarchate of, its ancient limits 491, 492—its present fallen state, 492—sects of christians therein, 493.  
*Allotments*, giving them advantageous, 360, 370.  
*Americans*, character given of them by the Mexicans, 183—their troops in Mexico, 216.  
*Annals of the four Masters*, beauty of the publication, 161—authors of the compilation, 165—division of the work, 165—difficulty of editing, 167—to be considered as materials for history, 174—corrects many statements in English history, 176—are chiefly to be considered as a native history, 176—allusion to the English Reformation, 177—omissions in them supplied, 179—records of illustrious women, 181—extract, *ibid*.  
*Arthur*, king, his round table and death, 158.  
*Audin*, M., his "Histoire de Henri VIII.," 427—his former works, 428—his account of the executions in London, 445.  
*Babylon*, its history, 332.  
*Baines M.*, his work on Catholicism and Protestantism considered as influencing civilization, 43—extract from, 49, 50—extract concerning marriage, 55—concerning virginity, 57  
*Bartholomew*, saint, accounts given by Dr. Hook and Mr. Eden of the events happening on his day, 123.  
*Beggars*, German, of the 16th century, 113.  
*Books of devotion* in use amongst the people of Rome, 88—notice of 229.  
*Boleyn*, Ann, her accomplishments, 431.  
*Borneo*, 302-303—its future prospects, 316.  
*Botta*, Mr., excavations at Khorsabad, 334—labour he has bestowed on the inscriptions, 348  
*Bravo Don Nicholas*, 198.  
*Breviary*, Dr. Hook and Mr. Eden concerning it, 130.  
*Britons*, ancient, their emigration into Britany, 14—traditions carried with them, 145.  
*Brook*, Mr., 296—motives for his great undertaking, 298—visits Sarawak, 302—it is ceded to him, 302—puts down piracy, 303—obtains the island of Labuh-an, 304—is made confidential agent at Borneo, 305—effect of his government at Sarawak, 305—his return there from England, 316  
*Brul*, by Layamon, 155—extract from describing a battle between British and Irish, 157—describing king Arthur's round table and death, 158.  
*Buxton*, Mr., his adventures in Mexico, 189—extract from, 203—his dangerous adventure, 213.  
*Cairo*, great plague at, 510  
*Candles on the altar*, Dr. Hook and Mr. Eden concerning them, 134.

*Canon of the kings of Chaldea*, 332—of Ptolemy, 332.  
*Canonization*, opinions of Dr. Hook and Mr. Eden concerning, 125.  
*Cathal Croo-Derg*, 182.  
*Catharine of Arragon*, her character, 430—her interview with Wolsey and Campeggio, 433.  
*Catholics*, unjust aspersions against them, 249.  
*Celibacy of the clergy*, Dr. Hook and Mr. Eden concerning it, 127.  
*Chasuble*, Dr. Hook concerning it, 122.  
*Chili*, Mgr. Muzi's mission to, 465.  
*Church*, Catholic, her influence on society, 31—on the family, 31—her independence of the temporal power, 32—protected that of other corporations, 33—her constitution a model, 33—she develops that of constitutional monarchy, 35—her influence in Catholic monarchies, 37—influence in the abolition of slavery, 53—in the sanctity of marriage, 55.  
 — of England, Dr. Hook and Mr. Eden at variance upon a fundamental doctrine, 132—present condition of, 142.  
*Communion* in one kind, 279  
*Confession*, curious controversy regarding, 305, 308.  
*Confession*, Hungarian, 290.  
*Constance*, Council of, 279.  
*Councils* against the heresy of Cyril Lucari, 512  
 516—at Constantinople, 514—another council at Constantinople, 516—at Jassy, 516—at Bethlehem, 516.  
*Crammer*, Abp., his consecration, 439.  
*Cromwell*, Thomas, his fate, 414.  
*Crome*, Catherine, her Night Side of Nature, 403  
*Cuneiform* characters, 314.  
*Curry*, Eugene, his works, 170.  
*Cyrl Lucaris*, his birth at Candia, and early education, 509—visits the European universities, 509—receives orders, and is appointed Archimandrite, 509—and Patriarch of Alexandria, 510—takes charge of the see of Constantinople, 510—corresponds with Dutch Calvinists, 510—disappointed in his hope of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and driven from the city, 510—returns to Egypt, 510—his cowardly conduct during the plague—again takes the government of the see of Constantinople, and eventually is elected Patriarch, 511—his contests with the Jesuits, 511—his open avowal of Calvinistic principles, in consequence of which he is deposed, 511—but soon after recalled on payment of 70,000 dollars to the Sultan, 511—again deposed and banished, 511—letter to Dr. Leger—recalled a second time, but soon after banished and put to death, 513—his character, 513, 514—rejection of his doctrines by his own Church, 514, 517—his confession of faith, 511.  
*Cyrl of Beræa*, his contests with Cyril Lucari, 511, 512.



- De Domin's* (Marcantonio,) Cyril's letter to him, 510.  
*Diet*, its effect on population, 374.  
*Dyaks*, 312—their morals, 313—taking of heads, 313—superiority of the Hill Dyaks, 314.
- Eastern Church* identity, of its faith with the Western, 514, 516.  
*Eastern Church*, anglican views regarding it, 487, 489—want of information regarding it, 489.  
*Eden*, Mr., his Theological Dictionary, 117—disavows all Church authority, 119—dispen- ses with antiquity, 119—speaks of the use of the word Catholic, 120—his mistakes, 124— opinion of celibacy of the clergy, 127—de- scription of the Breviary, 130—blunder con- cerning Proses, 133—heretical in his ideas of the Trinity, 138.  
*Emigration*, horrors of that of 1845 and 1847, 318—objections to it as a remedy for Ireland, 369.  
*England*, its reception of the Gospel under the Anglo-Saxon Sovereigns, 74.  
 —, rumours current concerning it amongst the ancients, 143.  
*Ereagh*, 185.
- Family constitution* of the, 34—a model for that of the state, 34.  
 —, influence of Catholicism upon the, 52.  
*Ferretti*, Cardinal, his courage in the defence of Rieti, and on other occasions, 474.  
*Fisheries*, Irish, causes for the neglect of them, 98—iniquitous laws for their discouragement, 100—for the monopoly of the fresh water fisheries, 103—mode of conducting salmon fisheries, 106.  
*Forster*, Lady Elizabeth, Gibbon's ridiculous addresses to her, 3:7.  
*France*, commencement of constitutional liber- alism there, 43.  
*Frederick the Great*, anecdotes of him, 392, note.  
*Free towns*, advantages of living in them, 112.  
*Friday* good, office for, 19-26.
- Geoffrey of Monmouth*, 147—authenticity and character of his work, 149-153.  
*Grasius*, Pope, 276.  
*Gibbon*, his education, 384—he becomes a Catho- lic, 385—his studies at Lausanne, 386—his addresses to Mdlle. Curchod, 387—and after- wards to Lady Elizabeth Forster, 387—his first work, 391—his travels, 395—his early works, 396—his silence in parliament, 397— publishes the first volume of his history, 398— its universality, 398—his visit to M. Necker, 400—translations of his works, 402—comple- tion of his history, 402—his person, 403—his style, 405—his mistakes, 406.  
*Greek Schism*, its little effect on Alexandria, 505.  
*Gregory XVI.*, calumny against, 456—his sub- jects gave him no opportunity of trying con- ciliation, 476—insurrection at the commence- ment of his reign, 477—his mild overtures to his people, 477.
- Henry VII.*, his title only parliamentary 429.  
*Henry VIII.*, his marriage, 429—his education, 431—his speech concerning his divorce, 434—his death, 447.  
*Hidalgo* the Cura, 194.  
*History* successfully cultivated among the French, 427.  
*History* true, difference between it and what is historically true, 15.  
 —, of Ireland, presents two phases, 175.
- Hook*, Dr., his Church Dictionary, 117—as- sumption for his Church of the support of antiquity, 120—opinion of the title of Catho- lic, 121—of the Chasuble, 122—blunders made by him, 124—opinion of the celibacy of the clergy, 127—description of the Breviary, 130—evasions about the Stabat Mater, 131—mis- representation about incense, 134—definition of Popery, 136—bold assertions respecting his own Church, 137—proof that he does not believe in the real presence, 140.  
*Hosius*, Cardinal, 274.  
*Huss*, John, his safe conduct, 283.
- Indians*, their invasions of Mexico, 209—anec- dotes of, 208-213.  
*Ireland*, her melancholy history, 350—statistics of, 352—improvements tried by Irish land- lords, 360—effect of the poor law, 368—in what degree emigration is a remedy, 369— exports of food, 373—land uncultivated, 376—a monetary system claimed for it, 379.  
*Iturbide*, Don Augustin, 201.
- Jacobites*, why so called, 499.  
*Jess Fritz*, stratagem to obtain a standard, 113.  
*Jesuits*, odium against them, 274.
- Keppel*, Captain, 305-316—Khorsabad palace of, 334—state in which it was found, 335— discovery of the gates, 336—one of them taken to Paris, 336—bas-reliefs at the Louvre, 338—gates, 339—bronze lion, 341—different inscriptions found at Khorsabad, 342.
- Labbh-an*, Island of, 304.  
*Lamentations* of Jeremiah, 17.  
*Languages*, works in foreign languages by Englishmen, 392, 3.
- Landgrave* of Hesse, anecdote of his cruelty, 114—insists upon his right to have two wives, 128.  
*Land*, a necessary of life in Ireland, 351—neces- sary to emancipate it from burdens, 353—ex- periment tried of dividing it in Ireland, 359—advantageous to divide it into small farms, 362—examples, 362—subdivision of it in France, 364—taxes upon it, 364—tenure of land in Channel Islands, 367—land unculti- vated in Ireland, 376—use to be made of it, 377.
- Layamon*, his Brut, 155.  
*Layard*, Mr., his excavations, 337.  
*Lincolnt*, Count, his absurd anecdotes concern- ing Pius IX.  
*Le Leu Wilhem*, his correspondence with Cyril, 510.
- Liberatism* in Spain compared with the Reform- ation in England, 64.  
*Loss and Gain*, character of the work, 918—ex- tract, 920—extract upon the use of private judgment, 221—upon music, 223.
- Luther*, Martin, taught the doctrine of divine right and non resistance, 110—sanctions plu- rality of wives in the Landgrave of Hesse, 129.  
*Luther*, absurd stories told by him, 425.
- Madden*, Dr., account of him, 59—list of his works, 62—tears the mask from Peninsular liberalism, 64—makes two great concessions, 74—advantage to Catholics of reading his work, 77.  
*Mahometans*, their persecution of the christians, 505—oppression of the Church, 504—corrupt sale of church dignities, 511.  
*Malays*, their real character, 307—their women, 309—care of the hair, 310.

- Margaret*, an illustrious Irishwoman, 180.  
*Marriage* of the clergy, 129—indissolubility held only by the Catholic Church, 136.  
*Maryatt*, his work on Borneo, 311.  
*Mary*, the blessed Virgin, her name omitted by the Church in the devotions occurring between Palm Sunday and Easter, 3—she is our mother, 23.  
*Mass*, the, 225.  
*Maury*, Mrs., her work, 317—description of the horrors of the emigrant ship, 319—her labours to obtain the appointment of surgeons to those ships, 330—her domestic life, 332—opinion of the celibacy of the clergy, 333—description of Presidents and their wives, 335—mistakes regarding the English press, 326—great error in defending slavery, 327.  
*Melchites*, why so called, 493, 499.  
*Mexico*, revolutions it has passed through, 190—beauty of the country, 190—roads, 191—climate, 192—smallness of the population, 193—its history since the revolution, 194—its independence recognized, 201—indifference with which revolutions are considered, 200—appearance of the soldiers, 205—invasions of the Indians, 207.  
*Misereres*, three of them, by whom composed, 17.  
*Morelos*, 196.  
*Monophysite* heresy, its subdivisions, 499, 500.  
*Muda Hassim*, 302-305.  
*Music*, figured and Gregorian, 222.  
*Napoleon*, his conduct to the Church, 43.  
*Neale*, (Rev. J. M.) his history of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, 487, 517—his dedication, 487—prepossessions in favour of the Easterns, 491—his partial account of the case of S. Dionysius, 495—of S. Athanasius, 496—of Pope John VIII., 506—of Cyril Lucaris, 511—character of his history, 490—sources from whence it is taken, 490—defects, 491.  
*Nineveh*, 331—its history, 332—its destruction, 333—excavations in the plains of, 337.  
*Northmen*, their persecutions of the Church, 74.  
*O'Donnell*, Hugh Roe, 178.  
*O'Donovan*, John, 169.  
*Office*, Books, noble idea conveyed by them of the ritual of the Church, 2—Office of Holy Week, 7—of Holy Thursday, 17—of Good Friday, 18, 26—of Holy Saturday, 27.  
*Pallium*, the, 286.  
*Party*, the Irish, iniquitous laws devised by them to appropriate the fisheries to themselves, 100—to monopolise the fresh water fisheries, 103—means taken by them to enforce their laws, 104.  
*Passion* of our Lord, recital of in Holy Week 14.  
*Pawn* system, the, a modified state of slavery, 60.  
*Peerage*, members of, not increasing, 375.  
*Petrie*, Dr., his works, 169.  
*Photius*, his falsification of John 8th's letter, 506.  
*Pius IX.*, false anecdotes concerning, 450, 452, 455—he embraces the ecclesiastical life, 460—*Pius VII.*, prophecy concerning him, 460—instances of his munificence, 461—his old acquaintances, 462—his charity school, 463—his goodness of heart, 463—early prophecy that he would be Pope 463—joins Mgr. Muzi's mission to Chili, 464—hardships suffered at sea and in South America, 467-8—is judicially examined at Majorca, 469—dangers off Cape Horn, 470—probable effect of these hardships upon his character, 471—affection entertained for him in Chili, 473—his voyage home, 473—his illness, 474—he is made archbishop of Spoleto, and afterwards of Imola, 474—he gains over the insurgents coming to attack Imola, 475—his conduct on a robbery of a tabernacle, 479—his freedom from party theories, 480—his intended course of improvement, 482—accelerated by disturbing circumstances, 483—unfounded charges against his political conduct, 483—his symbol in the Lives of the Popes in St. Malachy's prophecy, 486.  
*Priestly*, Dr., his attack on Gibbon, 399.  
*Processions*, Catholic, 11—of Palm Sunday, 11—their antiquity, 15.  
*Protestantism*, its in various influences upon liberty, 35—in the 18th century saps the foundations of Catholic monarchies, 39.  
*Railways*, 329.  
*Priestly*, history of in England, 428.  
*Religion* of the established Church, its variations, 115.  
*Revolutions* of France and Spain compared, 45.  
*Sagas* of ancient Britons, 162.  
*Sallust*, abbate, a companion of the Pope on a mission to Chili, 465—his account of it, 466.  
*Santa Anna*, Don Antonio Lopez de, 204.  
*Sarawak*, 305.  
*Saturday*, Holy, Office of, 26—hymn sung on the occasion, 28.  
*Sects*, oriental, account of, 498.  
*Shannon*, salmon fisheries upon it, 106.  
*Sinnett*, Mrs., her work upon history, 109—extracts from, 111.  
*Sigismund III.*, his efforts to reunite the Greeks and Latins, 509.  
*Sion House*, Sisterhood of, 67.  
*Sovereignty*, popular origin and character of the doctrine, 40—consequences of the theory, 41.  
*Spain*, decline of its monarchy, 44.  
*Sunday*, Palm, sentiment of the Church in respect to, 10.  
*Superstitions* prevalent out of the Church, 409—414—Saxon, 418—efforts of the Church against, 420—of the Northmen, 421-3—among Protestants, 424.  
*Tenebræ*, office of, 15.  
*Townly*, John, Esqr., his sufferings under the penal laws, 78.  
*Transubstantiation*, formally defined by the Greek Church, 516.  
*Tregian*, Mr., his sufferings, 69.  
*Vera*, Cruz, 203.  
*Vicary*, Mr., his observations upon Italy, 80—ignorance of Italian and Latin, 81—levity, 82—blunders *ibid.*—misrepresentation, 86—cool proposal for diplomatic relation with Rome, 92—irreverent description of an ordination.  
*Vizir*, singular judgment of, 504.  
*Von Haga*, Cyril's intrigues with him, 510.  
*Week*, Holy, works upon the offices of, 1—the offices of, 8.  
 —passion, office of, 8.  
*Wiseman*, Dr., his lectures, 7.  
*Wolsley*, Cardinal, his character and fall, 436.  
*Wordsworth*, Dr., Christopher, his controversy with Catholics, 270—misinterprets Cardinal Bellarmine, 271—the constitutions of the Jesuits, 272—attributes false opinions to Hosius, 274—to Galasius, 276—his opinion of Catholic allegiance, 285—of episcopal authority, *ibid.*—mistake concerning the Pallium, 286—confounds the benediction of oils with confirmation, *ibid.*, his opinion that the Pope was antichrist, 292.  
*Writing Medium*, 345.

